

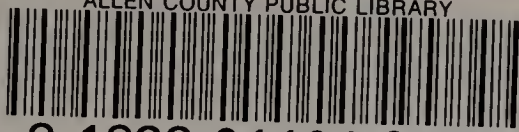
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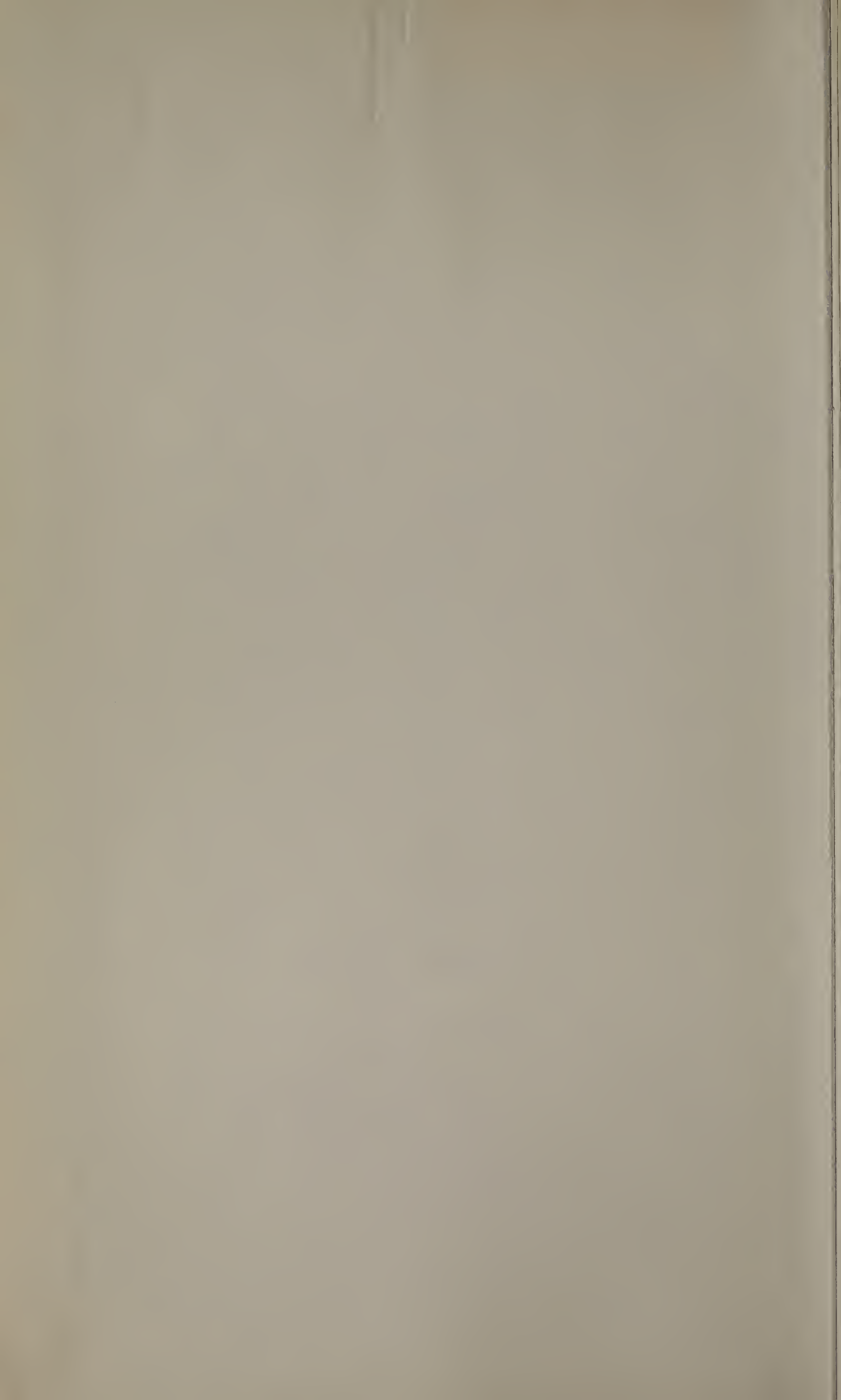


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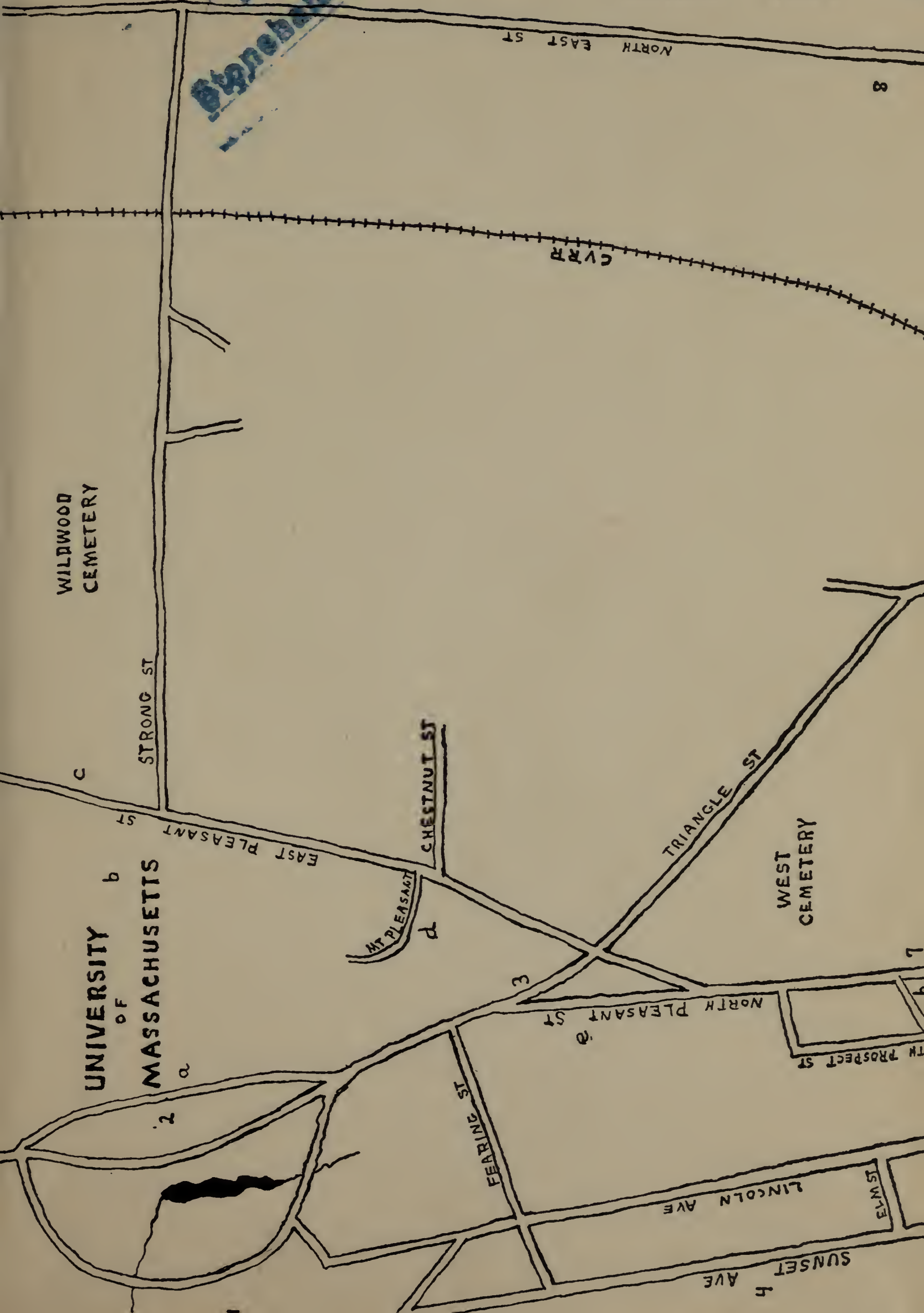
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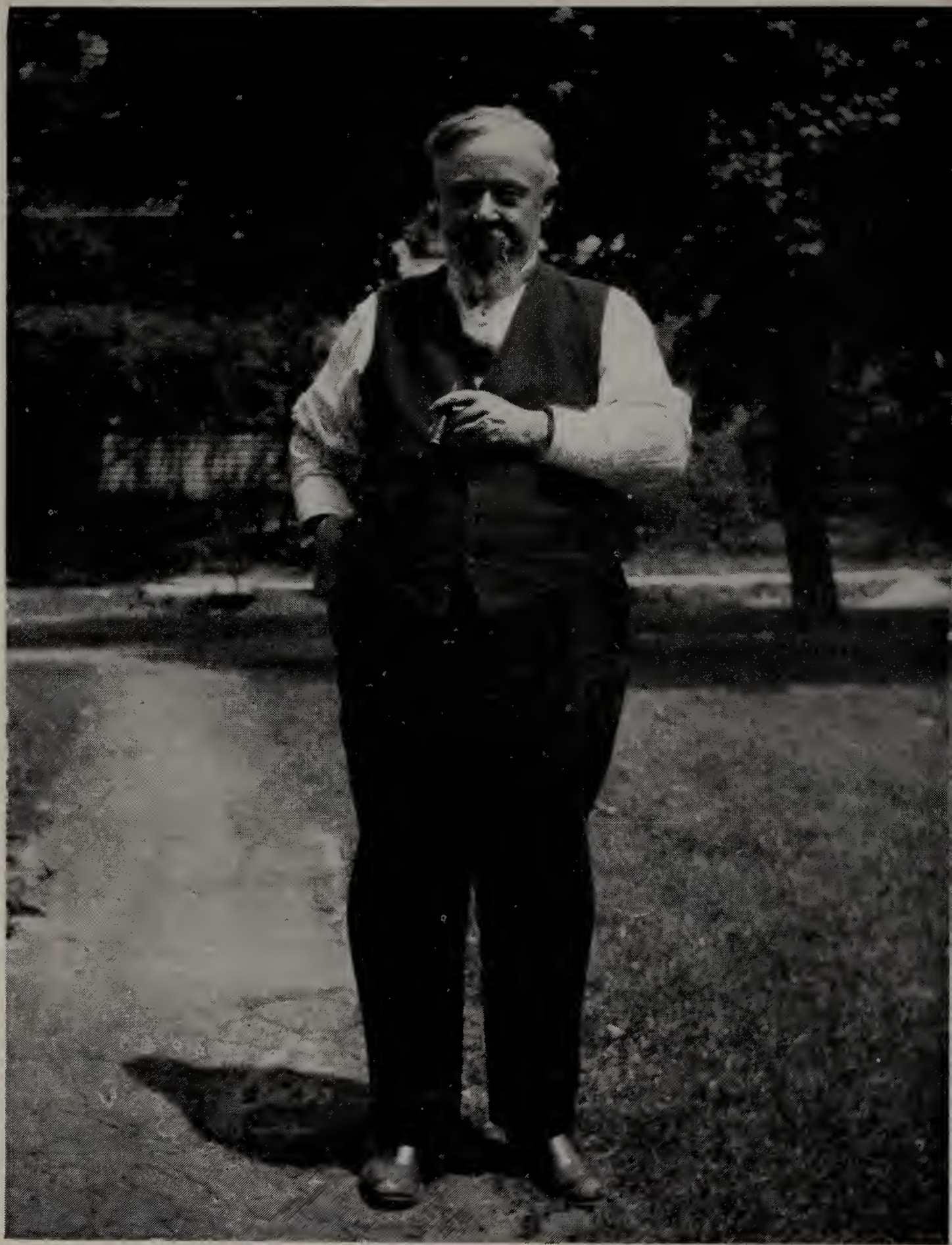
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The Village of
A M H E R S T
a Landmark of Light



*Charles Frederick Morehouse
Historian and Journalist
to whom the readers of this book
are deeply indebted*

The Village of
AMHERST

Mass.

a Landmark of Light

by

FRANK PRENTICE RAND



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PARABLE

Three men were, as the saying goes, looking at Amherst, and loving her.

One of them said, "She's a madonna lily."

"Do you mean that she's *like* a madonna lily?"

"No, she *is* a madonna lily."

Another said, "She's a rat-tailed, razzle-dazzle ball of energy."

The third man said, "She's paranoia—punch-drunk with intellectualism."

A small boy, who had been listening, blew a strident toot on his toy trumpet, and ran away to join his playmates at Hartling Stake.

ONE

Colonialism, and therefrom—
a College

Norwottuck

THE settlers called the place Norwottuck.

This was a simplification. The Norwottuck Indians who sold the land to Major John Pynchon of Springfield in 1658 were represented as describing it as follows: "all the grounds, woods, ponds, waters, meadows, trees, stones, etc. lying on the east side of Quenecticot River, within the compass aforesaid, from the mouth of the little Riverlett called Townucksett, and the hills Petowomuchu northwards up the great river of Quenecticot, to the brook Nepowssoenegg, and from the south end of the hills Quaquachu, being near about nine miles in length from the south part to the north part, and all within the compass from Quenecticot River eastward nine miles out into the woods, all of the aforesaid tract of ground called Townucksett, Sunmukquommuck, Suchaw, Noycoy, Gassek, Pomptuckset, Mattabaget, Wunnaquickset, Kunckunik-qualluck, Neposeoneag, and to the south end of the great hill called Kunckquachu, and for nine or ten miles eastward from the great river out into the woods." Somewhere within this extensive and resonant region, relinquished by three bead-greedy chieftains in consideration of "two hundred fathom of wampum . . . one large coat . . . several smaller gifts," lay the acreage now known as Amherst, Massachusetts. This transfer deed was consummated on December 25, but was not regarded, at least by the Indians, as a Christmas present.

In terms of our language this is the beginning of local history. But some two centuries later Edward Hitchcock spread out before bewildered eyes irrefutable evidence of earlier residents, much earlier, earlier by millions (let the geologists continue to guess how many!), but certainly millions of years—literally thousands of "fossil footmarks," which he plausibly identified as "turkey tracks." Later,

when mammoth skeletons were discovered in the preservative aridity of the West, the Hitchcock tracks were re-identified as those of dinosaurs. These, then, would seem to constitute Amherst's earliest recorded history.

The reader may wish to visualize the Amherst of dinosaur days. We are told that Mount Warner is our oldest landmark. The Hokyoke range came later, and along its ridges our naturalists still point out to their students the scars of extinct volcanoes. There was vegetation, cactus-like: palms and conifers. There were barren peaks and sand-swept plains. There were merciless suns and torrential rain. There were widespread, albeit gradual, realignments as between land and sea. There were predacious and unpredacious beasts, and birds and insects galore. But at this point deduction and even conjecture begin to bog down. Certainly it was a rugged place of residence, but there were those who may have liked it.

Indian land, however, was a far cry from that of the dinosaurs.

We have, of course, no contemporary description, but there are some things that we know. We know, for example, that the Indians were in some measure agrarian; their squaws worked the soil for squashes, beans, and especially corn. There were berry patches and nut trees. There was little grazing. Fishing and hunting were the sustentive occupations. Fish abounded in the river and streams. For the most part the land was wooded and rife with game. To make the forest more conveniently accessible and perhaps less a covert for enemies, the Indians burned over their terrain in the autumn. In 1671 petitioners for plantation rights a few miles to the north complained that since the Indians had left the neighborhood, the woods and fields had filled up with brush, "which will be very prejudicial to those who shall come to inhabit." Interestingly, the white men continued the annual bush-burnings for nearly a century.

The woods were predominantly evergreen, and as such were not highly regarded for either building or fuel. The settlers preferred "rift timber," particularly oak. In 1672, appealing to the General Court for additional land, they described their woodlands as largely "barren pine plain, capable of little improvement." Amherst's first meetinghouse was boarded and shingled with "spruse." After food, wood was the prime consideration. A household would require from



The Strong House
(The Historical Society House)



The Stockbridge House
(University Faculty Clubhouse)

twenty-five to fifty cords of it to supply the huge fireplaces throughout the winter. All structures and equipment were wooden. Sawmills competed with gristmills for water power. And, surprising as it may seem, there was actual anxiety lest the supply of wood might fail. It was apparently this anxiety that led certain of the towns to prohibit the export of various wood products. And Hadley, in 1713, passed an ordinance that no oak staddles under twelve inches in diameter should be cut from the commons. Theodore Roosevelt's crusade to conserve natural resources was thus anticipated by two hundred years.

The eastern, or Amherst, part of Norwottuck was the least desirable in those days. Around 1700 a venturesome fellow undertook to homestead there, and the scene of his failure was thereafter commemorated in official documents as Foote's Folly Swamp. Another section was known as Lawrence's Swamp. In fact the dismal noun appeared in names applying to the whole district as well: "at our East Farms, or New Swamp, as it is called," "Hadley Swamp," and the like. There were natural beauties and agricultural attractions in eastern Norwottuck then as now, but it is not without significance that this was the last part of the township of Hadley to be settled.

The Indians, as we have seen, sold out to Pynchon in 1658. During that same year Mr. John Russell, pastor of the church in Wethersfield, Connecticut, and some of his parishioners, together with others in the church in Hartford, were involved in controversy and impending schism. In general they defended Congregational concepts as opposed to those Presbyterian. There was also the old issue of freedom to worship, and it carried with it the old implication of freedom to secede. Thus, in 1658, the Connecticut Congregationalists, like Joshua, sent forth some trusty scouts to explore the frontier above Northampton, and they also applied to the General Court of Massachusetts for a grant. On May 2, 1659, the Wethersfield church elected a pastoral committee, "seeing it is commonly reported that Mr. Russell hath sent for his church to Norwottuck, to do some church act, whereby the town is wholly destitute." The grant was duly authorized, and in September a committee appointed by the General Court to lay out a new town made a not altogether acceptable report. Nonetheless a few of the Wethers-

field-Hartford emigrants wintered in Norwottuck, and, on May 22, 1661, an order from the General Court indicated “that the sd toune shall be called Hadley,” or, as it sometimes appeared, Hadleigh, the name suggesting that an influential settler, or settlers, had family ties in Hadley, England.

The Indian name Connecticut meant “the long river,” and Norwottuck, perhaps, “the river valley.” In Eliot’s Indian Bible the word appeared as *noautuk* and was used in translating a phrase from *Joshua* 13—“the city that is in the midst of the river.” The name has come down to us in some twenty different forms, the most familiar variable being Nonotuck, and even with some different meanings. Passages in the Pynchon deed indicate that it was used to refer not so much to the place as to the people. But the settlers also thought that the Indians used the word to apply to their burial places and to clumsy boys whose marksmanship was “wide.” Thus, in 1759, three of them, “yoemen of the town of Hadley,” petitioned Governor Pownall that their new district should not be named Norwottuck. They said they feared “that a part of our inhabitants, with designs against the reputation of our new district, may persuade Your Excellency to give us a name which is as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.” They asked for the name Amherst.

The Norwottuck settlers purchased their farms, or “houcelots,” individually, “47 of them on the east side of the river.” They paid Major Pynchon, Mr. Simon Bradstreet (who had projected a conflicting claim), and Mr. Joseph Parsons sums totaling about £420 at a time when wheat was worth about three shillings a bushel. Town boundaries were very indefinite. Almost immediately the people on the west side of the river became Hatfield. And Hadley ultimately came to include what was to become South Hadley, Amherst, and part of Granby, about eighty square miles.

The region that was to be Amherst was still “the common feeding place of our working cattle, whereby we carry on our husbandry,” and “without our town bounds.” It was probably not as swampy as its names suggest, but it was generally regarded as marginal land, even, in a sense, as beyond the pale.

We know of no Norwottuck Indian who lived in what we now call Amherst. There was one who died here, if we may credit the

evidence of his skeleton and arrowheads disinterred in South Amherst. He was probably a stray. Certainly there is nothing to indicate an Indian village here. Perhaps the natives were averse to swampiness; almost certainly they preferred to live nearer to the flowing source of shad and salmon.

Amherst has had to wait until the twentieth century for a significant Indian resident and he was not Norwottuck. He was a Sioux. Ohiyesa was born in 1858 in what soon became the state of Minnesota. One may read of tepee years, rugged in fortitude and rich in folklore, in his book entitled *Indian Boyhood*. When Matthew Arnold visited America in 1883, the one thing he desired to see above all else was an Indian. He was disappointed in New York, Boston, and Amherst, but Dartmouth, originally a school for Indians, was happily able to oblige. Ohiyesa was a freshman there. But Arnold was again disappointed. In dress, speech, and bearing Ohiyesa was not unlike his Dartmouth classmates. Moreover he had taken the name of his maternal grandfather and was introduced as Charles Eastman.

Young Eastman became a physician, and, while practising his profession as a government appointee among his people in the West, he married a Massachusetts girl, who was teaching in Indian schools. Her name was Elaine Goodale, and her home was Amherst. Thus, in 1903, the young couple came to Amherst to live for sixteen years, and for nine years they occupied the stone house which father Goodale had built at the corner of Harkness and Belchertown Roads, a house currently owned by his grandson, James Dayton, for seven years Director of Extension at the University.

Dr. Eastman organized forty-two Indian Y.M.C.A.'s, was a promoter of Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls, published many books and articles. Mrs. Eastman was also an author. Their six children attended our local public schools.

Thus it appears that Amherst has inherited from the Norwottucks little more than a not highly regarded site and a name. The latter is perpetuated as that of a fish and game association, a chapter of fraternal Red Men, and the eastern peak of the Holyoke range. Amherst has no Indian landmarks, and most of its Indian lore has been appropriated from neighboring villages. In 1881, however, Helen Hunt Jackson published *A Century of Dishonor*

to arouse the national conscience against official exploitation of the Western tribes, and the women of Amherst, that same year, organized an "Indian Association," which was to continue to function for over quarter of a century. *Ramona* followed, in 1884.

Certainly Amherst takes pride in her Norwottuck heritage. And she also takes pride in the memory of her adopted native American—Ohiyesa.

Precinct Days

THE earliest Amherst settlers came to life, historically, by way of death. They were first recognized as such in the Hadley records, under date of January 5, 1730, by virtue of a committee's being appointed to lay out for them a burying ground.

It is true that nearly thirty years before, certainly by 1703, the land that was to become Amherst had been parceled out among the Hadley yeomen. The allotments were based on Bay Road, then known as the Brookfield Road, and were blocked off in three parallel series northerly into Cushman. The three series were separated by two forty-rod highways: East Street as we know it; and West Street extending on into East Pleasant. They also provided for crossroad connections: one at Mill Valley; another which is now Main Street; and a third, less certainly identifiable, farther north. A map dating from about 1772 includes all but the last of these, but indicates also a continuation of Main Street east and west, and North Pleasant Street veering off toward the west as at present. That these extensions belong to the earliest settlement is indicated by the locations of some of the homelots.

In the 1703 allotment chart our Main Street was described as follows: "A Highway 40 rods wide, goeth over New Swamp, and runs to Foot's Folly." Foote was indubitably the original settler; that he was either disillusioned or dead in 1703 is suggested by the fact that he was not listed among the ninety-seven Hadley men who drew lots for land in the unoccupied territory to the east. He may have been laughing at them, up his sleeve.

Actually very few of the ninety-seven men ever took up their

claims. In 1731 there were eighteen men listed as “east inhabitants.” They constitute a pioneer roll of honor. Incidentally their names are familiar and foreshadow the future.

Samuel Boltwood
Richard Chauncey
Nathaniel Church
John Cowls
Jonathan Cowls
Ebenezer Dickinson
Samuel Hawley
Ebenezer Ingram
John Ingram, Sr.

John Ingram, Jr.
Ebenezer Kellogg
John Nash, Jr.
Ebenezer Scovil
Aaron Smith
Nathaniel Smith
Stephen Smith
John Wells
Joseph Wells

They also help us to visualize the community.

The map of 1772 identifies the site, and almost certainly the house, of Jonathan Cowls as north of The Homestead on the University campus: the houses of John Nash and Nathaniel Smith as in the neighborhood of the Kirby Theatre; and that of Ebenezer Dickinson as not far from Wildwood Cemetery. Moreover, unless it was a very early, unrecorded, and unlikely restoration, the University's Stockbridge House was built by Samuel Boltwood in 1728, and is therefore to-day the oldest house in town. The probable location of other homesteads is indicated by reference to the distribution of 1703. The fathers of Richard Chauncey and of Aaron and Nathaniel Smith acquired grants on East Street toward the south. Ebenezer Kellogg established the earliest tavern, in 1734, on East Street toward the north. The John Ingrams seem to have lived on South Pleasant Street. Nathaniel Church's father was allotted land just north of the center of town. The Amherst Historical Society's house was built by Nehemiah Strong in 1744, and the house now on the northeast corner of Amity Street and Sunset Avenue was built by Solomon Boltwood, Samuel's brother, in 1745.

It was thus a community of widely scattered farms and homesteads. The provision for forty-rod highways was to allow for concessions to topography; a straight line did not always prove to be the shortest distance between two points. For example, Main Street used to circle around what is now Sweetser Park “to avoid a marsh in which in old times cattle were not unfrequently mired.” In-

evitably, however, after the meandering roadways became established, the abutters began to encroach upon the unused land, either to increase their personal holdings or perhaps to get themselves nearer to the actual street. In 1746 Hadley initiated court proceedings against such offenders. Amherst ultimately either sold or gave away her superfluous acreage, with the exception of the commons; and in 1788 she reduced the official width of some highways to six rods and others to four.

Not only were the settlers widely separated from one another, but not one of them was less than four miles from the Hadley meetinghouse, and by 1731 they had begun to import, occasionally, a clergyman to conduct divine service. Two years later Hadley recognized this practice on the part of the "east inhabitants" by reducing their assessment in support of the mother church. They were also not less than four miles from a trading center. Thus they began to yearn for something in the way of autonomy, and, in 1734, they applied to the General Court for authority to function as a precinct. That Hadley village was less than lukewarm to this proposal is not surprising. In fact it immediately created a committee "to draw up something in order to send to the General Court against this petition." This committee took up the long, dusty highway to Boston, and the "east inhabitants" were enraged when they realized that their taxes were helping to defray the expense. Six months later they sent a delegation of their own, by subscription. And this time they were successful. They became indeed "Hadley Third Precinct."

The new precinct was described in the General Court's directive as follows: "ten miles & three Quarters in bredth and Seven miles in length; Bounded westerly on a Tract of Land Reserved by the town of Hadley to ly as comon forever, southerly on the Boston Road, Easterly on the Equivalent Lands, and northerly on the Town of Sunderland." Equivalent lands! Like the Promised Land in the Bible this was a name in common usage, but to the uninitiated of later years a mystery.

In settling a boundary difficulty with Connecticut, Massachusetts had compensated for territory gained along the border by relinquishing "equivalent" holdings, some one hundred thousand acres, farther north. About half of this lay along the eastern boun-

dary of Hadley. Almost immediately, in 1716, Connecticut sold this land at public auction, and in this way it reverted to Massachusetts, becoming large parts of what are now Belchertown and Pelham. It also came about that in 1747 Massachusetts released the disputed townships along the border to rejoin the colony of Connecticut. It was by virtue of these territorial transactions that the new precinct was bounded on the east by Equivalent Lands.

There was also a local complication. It was not until after the "east inhabitants" had been allotted their holdings that the terrain was systematically surveyed. Thus it was eventually discovered that the rough staking out of the town had been inaccurate and included a considerable strip of Equivalent Lands. In the adjustment which followed, the settlers who had been established upon alien soil were reimbursed by allocations to the north, on Flat Hills. In the ironic whirligig of time it was to come to pass that the people of Pelham were to vote, in 1854 and again in 1870, to bestow certain of these borderline acres upon Amherst, and the people of Amherst were to vote not to accept them.

Among the responsibilities which the new precinct assumed, along with its privileges, was that of maintaining a place of worship. Indeed the General Court was very explicit in regard to this. The "east inhabitants" were instructed "within three years to Build a Convenient House for the Publick worship of God, settle a Learned orthodox Minister among them (one of Good Conversation) & provide for his handsome and honorable Support."

The settlers were willing and eager to comply. Thus, on October 8, 1735, "the free Holders and other Inhabetance of sd Precinct quallefyd for Voating in Town Meeting" gathered at the home of Zechariah Field, where the Durfee Plant House stands to-day, elected a moderator, clerk, assessors, tax collector, and committee men, voted "to hire a Minester," and "to Build a Meating House . . . forty five foot in Length and thirty five in Bredth . . . upon the Hill East of Jno Nashs House." And in his own handwriting we have this statement by the Rev. David Parsons: "November 1735. I began my ministry in Hadley."

That the settlers were "eager to comply" is an understatement; they were ardent. It was a time of spiritual exaltation. Across the river, in Northampton, there was a brilliant clergyman, brilliant

but pontifical—Jonathan Edwards. With power and perseverance he proclaimed a Calvinistic doctrine that was occasionally gracious but mostly grim. Sometimes his sermons were interrupted by hysterical sobbing in the congregation. The Amherst Historical Society still preserves, in awesome memory, a chair in which he was accustomed to sit.

Now, in the year of which we write, there came to pass what he called “an extraordinary dispensation of Providence,” whereby “a great multitude have been hopefully converted,” so that “this town was never so full of love nor so full of joy.” Even children, nine-year-olds, “have expressed great longings after Christ, and willingness to die and leave father and mother and all things in the world to go to Him.” But when an ecstatic convert actually did cut his throat in an effort to do exactly that, Edwards was shocked and concluded that the poor man had somehow become a victim of Satan, who was, as he said, “in a great rage at this extraordinary breaking forth of the work of God.” Meanwhile the revival spread. Edwards noted that “the people in New Hadley seem to be seized with a deep concern about their salvation.” “The people in New Hadley” were, of course, the “east inhabitants.”

The Rev. David Parsons, son of another Rev. David Parsons and grandson of Josiah Parsons of Northampton, Master of Arts from Harvard, “devout . . . fervent . . . scholarly . . . orthodox,” was for a little while only a seasonal preacher in the new precinct. But on April 13, 1737, the citizens voted: first, to extend to him a call; second, to give him the land which Hadley had already provided for a parsonage; third, to pay him eighty pounds the first year with subsequent increments; and, fourth, “towards Building a Dwelling House to set him up a frame forty foots in Length, in Breth twenty one foots, & two storys high.”

Negotiations between parish and Parsons continued for another two years, with the minister supplying the anticipated pulpit on a part-time basis and the parish adding further inducements to its offer. Finally, on September 28, 1739, he accepted the call and on November 7, was duly ordained. There were twenty-seven families in the community. The original church membership was made up of fifteen men, ten of whom were listed as “east inhabitants” in 1731. Soon after, twenty-eight other names were added to the roll, mostly those of members of the families already represented.

To state the minister's salary is not as simple as it might seem. There were in 1741 three standards of currency: "old tenor, middle tenor, and new tenor." It had been agreed that the salary should be paid in money "if any be passing, or some Comodity which shall be equivalent to money upon the footing money now stands." In 1755 it was voted "to add to the Rev^d Mr. David Parsons Sollary for this yeare ninty two pound teen shillings old tennor"; in 1757 "to add to the Rev^d Mr. David Parsons Sollery for this year, that is to his original Sollery, fifteen pounds Lawfull money"; and in 1758 "to add to the Rev^d Mr. David Parsons Sollery so much as to make it to amount to sixty pounds."

Mr. Parsons' house was raised, as provided, on the site of what is now Morgan Hall. Among his perquisites was firewood. In 1742 he received sixty loads, probably something over forty cords. By 1751 it had gotten up to a hundred "good" loads. After 1764 he furnished his own.

The meetinghouse also was there, across the road from the minister's house, where the College Octagon now stands and on what was sometimes known as Moot Hill. It was not very much larger than the parsonage. A precinct meeting December 15, 1738 appropriated £19 "for Thomas Temple for frameing ye Meeting house," £1 17' to Landlord Kellogg "for Rum and Suger" to inspirit the raising, and "£ 100 for Mr. Parsons for preaching the yeare past." It is probable that the meetinghouse was in use soon after his ordination, but not finished. In March 1740 a building committee was instructed "to go on wt ye work." The following March a committee was "to proceed in finishing ye Meeting House so farr as they think best." A year later it was used for a precinct gathering. It was not considered really completed until 1753.

The edifice in which Mr. Parsons proclaimed the word of God had little in the way of comfort or adornment. There is no picture of it. It was small. It had galleries for the socially inferior. The pulpit was on the side rather than at either end, as a token of Congregational democracy. Instead of a church bell there was a conch shell, a "konk," still preserved in Morgan Hall, to remind people as far away as East Street of their Sabbath obligation. There was no musical instrument except a tuning-fork. At first there were no lamps, no stove, not even pews. But the parishioners were no doubt very proud of it.

The Third Precinct was involved in the later French and Indian Wars: the fifth, which began in 1744 and culminated so far as the New World was concerned in Sir William Pepperell's siege and capture of Louisburg the following year; and the sixth, which began in 1754 and included General Braddock's tragic initiation into Indian warfare, the various campaigns which led to evacuation by the French at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and ultimately, in 1759 and 1760, the fall of Quebec and Montreal. Our forefathers, who remembered only too well what had happened in 1675 at Bloody Brook and Deerfield, were spared, so far as their village was concerned, the sight and sound of local carnage. Their minutes contain no reference to military matters. Over forty of the townsmen, however, saw service in the field. Zedadiah Williams, "perhaps of Amherst," was killed with Colonel Ephraim Williams at Lake George. Five others are listed as "died," almost certainly from disease, the enemy's effective ally.

A lively court action grew out of the fifth war. Solomon Boltwood, whose father had been killed by the Indians at Deerfield in 1704, led a detachment to the northern frontier, and for this purpose was provided with a mare which belonged to Ephraim Kellogg, an innkeeper like his brother. After his return he was sued by Mr. Kellogg on the ground that he had misused the animal. "The case was before the courts for a long time . . . and finally settled by agreement."

In 1753 the second precinct became the District of South Hadley, and the third precinct was automatically promoted to fill the vacancy. But what was apparently desirable for one precinct was presumably equally desirable for the other. The young men began to see visions, and the old men to dream dreams.

District Days

THE visions and the dreams came true. On February 13, 1759, the General Court enacted "that the said second precinct in Hadley. . . be erected into a separate and distinct district by the name of Amherst."

Districting was so obviously manifest destiny that Mother Hadley had offered no objection five years before when her second precinct became South Hadley; and now, when another daughter proposed setting up a home of her own, again she acquiesced. In fact she made the acquiescence official by popular vote even before the "east inhabitants" had submitted a petition to Boston. Subsequently she did object, at least formally, to the new district's including five contiguous homesteads to the west of the Sunderland road. This objection, however, was not sustained. The petition was granted *in toto*.

Everyone who has ever heard James Hamilton's stirring song knows that "Lord Jeffery Amherst was a soldier of the King." In 1758 he was a major general, and on July 26 he consummated a spectacular success—the capture of the French stronghold at Louisburg. By virtue of the victory he became overnight the most glamorous military hero in the New World.

Our forefathers had presented their petition six weeks before, and felt impelled to follow up with a reminder toward the end of the year. Undoubtedly there were local soldiers serving under General Amherst on Cape Breton Island, but the records are lost. So are the two petitions. It seems to have been a gubernatorial prerogative to append a name for a new district when signing its authorization, and the petitions may have contained no suggestion. But the letter to Governor Pownall from "yoemen" Nash, Ward, and Dickinson, mentioned in an earlier chapter, deplored a recommended Norwottuck and offered Amherst "in token of our regard for the worthy knight and of our own admirable friendship for the same." The "friendship" may have been "admirable," but it was certainly not personal so far as they were concerned. Pownall, on the other hand, was really the General's friend, and presumably did not require much urging to commemorate an associate from across the sea. Actually the name was so obvious in 1759 as to be almost inevitable. Incidentally there are to-day fourteen other Amhersts in the United States.

It is pleasant to note that General Amherst did not subsequently embarrass this adulation. As commander-in-chief of the royal armies in America, he brought about the capitulation of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Oswego, Fort Niagara, and ultimately Montreal;

whereupon, according to Francis Parkman, "half a continent had changed hands at the scratch of a pen." Thereafter he was showered with honors in England: made commander-in-chief of all forces in the British Isles in 1778, created Lord Amherst of Montreal in 1787, offered an earldom in 1795, and made field marshal in 1796, the year before his death. He never visited the New England village which has helped to perpetuate his name.

The enactment by the General Court made it explicit that as a district Amherst would "enjoy all privileges that towns do . . . , that of sending a representative to the general assembly only excepted." This meant, first of all, a larger corps of local officials, and at the first meeting of the new district men were elected to fill a number of new positions: five selectmen, two constables, two tithing men, five surveyors, two fence viewers, three hog reeves, and one clerk of market. And the following year there were added to this list three deer reeves. Indeed, in 1774, presumably in accordance with some sort of gentlemen's agreement, Amherst even sent a delegate to the Provincial Congress.

The minutes of the first district meeting include other items, not all of them new, but throwing some light upon the growing pains of local legislation:

voted "that Hogs Rung & Yoakt According to Law may Run at Large";

"that the High way work Be Done this Year By a tax";

"to Hire Six Bulls for the District Service this Year";

"to Raise Twenty Pounds for this Years Scooling";

"to Discontinue one Rod in Width twenty Rods in Length In the East Street of the High Way";

"that Ephraim Kellogg, Ebez^r Dickinson 3^d, thomas Mortton, John Field Jun^r, Noah Smith have Liberty to Build a pew over the Stairs In the Gallery, the Mens Side, if it Dont Hinder Passing In the Attics & Up-and Down Stairs."

The property rights in meetinghouse pews were from the beginning a recurring headache for the district fathers. From the minutes one may gather hints of troubled deliberations. In 1744, for example, the precinct had voted "to Build two pues in ye Meeting

House: one upon the womans side upon the North West Corner, and one upon ye North End upon ye Mens Side"; further, "Libarty to some particular parsons to Build pues Upon thare one Charg"; further, to "let out to men places for pues." These actions call attention to the customary separation of the sexes for purposes of worship. They suggest, as supported by later reference, that the original meetinghouse faced the north, the pulpit being in the middle of the broad side to the south. And they indicate considerable uncertainty as to procedure, an uncertainty italicized by another action five weeks later: "to Revoak all ye former voats"; and "to Build all ye pues Round ye Side of ye Meeting House."

Thereafter the worshipers, presumably, had continued to occupy movable benches, adroitly arranged in accordance with puritan propriety, for the next four years, at which time the precinct appropriated a hundred pounds "toward Building Pues."

A year later the pews seem to have been built, and now the godly churchmen had been confronted by the delicate problem of allocation. The minutes again enlighten: "to seate ye Males together and Femals to Gether Except ye two pues next ye East End the Pulpit"; "that the seators are Guided by the following Ruels—that is to say: by Age, Estate and Qallifications"; "to Make Choise of five meat parsons [meet persons] to seat ye Meating House."

But six months later they had voted "to seat the Meeting House A Nue."

Additions and reallocations are provided for in the minutes, and an enlargement of the seating committee in 1767 would suggest some sort of crisis. The subsequent legislation, however, is an anticlimax and a reassurance: "that all Persons that have Either Children or Prentices or any under their Care, that have seats aseined to them in the meting hous see to it that they take and keep their respective seats, unless at any particular time they were for some speatial reason invited into an other seat by the oner or oners of the same."

That the minister's salary was another troublesome matter is indicated, not so much by the fact that it repeatedly appears in the minutes as up for consideration, as by the fact that in 1764 a committee "to Treat with the Rev^d David Parsons respecting the Settlement of his Sallary" was composed of no less than sixteen men.

Whether it was a matter of payment in arrears or disagreement as to amount the record revealeth not. But it must have been something more than routine.

The new district found itself also confronted by the problem, a never ending problem as the years have clearly shown, namely, that of schooling and schoolhouses. As a precinct it had indeed appropriated certain modest sums to supplement those provided by Hadley, "to Hire," as one record has it, "three Scool Dames for three or four Months In the Summer Seson to Larne Children to Read." As the clerkly excerpts herein quoted suggest, the need for instruction in the three R's, certainly in spelling, was imperative.

The school dames did their teaching in convenient and various homes. In 1761, however, the district voted: first, "to Build two Scool houses"; and immediately thereafter to set up a committee which should consider "whether it Be Best to have two or three." In December of the same year, it authorized three: one "in the highway that Leads to Pelham Near the Place where Moses Warners house formerly stood," apparently at the center; another "in the highway that Runs East and West between Joseph Church and Jonth Coles," which sounds like what the University students have long known as Lovers' Lane; and a third "in the high way South of Nath Colmans Lot East of Plum Brook upon the hill," in other words near the South Amherst common. Objections were presumably raised to the northerly site; at any rate provision therefor was immediately withdrawn.

In March 1762 the district voted "to Stop all Proceedings Respecting the Scool houses"; but in October it took a deep breath and voted again to build three of them, their location to be determined by committee.

Nothing happened, however, except the inevitable disputation and delay. It may be assumed that there were voices from East Street. At any rate, on December 17, 1764, the voters accomplished what was really a decisive commitment, to build *four* schoolhouses: "the North School House," "the South School House," "the west Middle School House," and "the East Middle School House." Moreover they created a committee, with power, to determine the size and locations of the buildings and to supervise their construction. And before the communal mind could shift again, the work was un-

der way. Thus the district meeting of January 1766 was held in "the west middle school house," and one of the items on its agenda was the specification of rates of pay for carpenters who were working on, or perhaps about to begin working on, the others. How large these buildings were we do not know. To accommodate the district's citizenry the "west middle" one must have been reasonably large. Still a vote a few years later to move the "east middle" one across the street would suggest that that one was, as one might say, reasonably small.

The four schoolhouses were clearly located: at the center, by the East Street common, by the South Amherst common, and behind the present North Amherst church. Almost immediately the residents of North Amherst "City," later Cushman, began to complain. Their discontent was in regard to distance. They did not ask for a bus; they asked for a schoolhouse nearby. And in 1771 we find references to a new school, running for six weeks, and in 1778 to one running for three months "in the west street in the northern part of town." The same thing was happening at the other end of the west street in the southern part of town. It was about ten years later that schoolhouses were built in the northeast and southwest localities. Sometimes a schoolhouse would be privately built by a group of families, a "proprietary school house," and be later taken over by the town.

What was meanwhile taking place inside the schoolhouses is not altogether clear. The seasons were short, the equipment meagre, the fireplaces capricious, the curriculum elementary, the teachers unprofessional. In 1770 Amherst appropriated £29, 6' for schooling in contrast to £93, 6', 8" for the minister's salary. Parents, as such, may have contributed something; there are references in the minutes to their furnishing wood. At a precinct meeting in earlier days there were provisions for a schoolmaster in the autumn and school dames in the summer. In 1772 such a master was Mr. Gay Ballantine, competent in Latin. Northampton had had since 1687 a Latin-grammar school for boys; but girls were not admitted to the Northampton schools until after 1803. Certainly during precinct and district days there was plenty of illiteracy in Amherst; there must have been very few women who could do more than "make

their mark." Amherst was to become a great educational center, but its beginnings as such were not impressive.

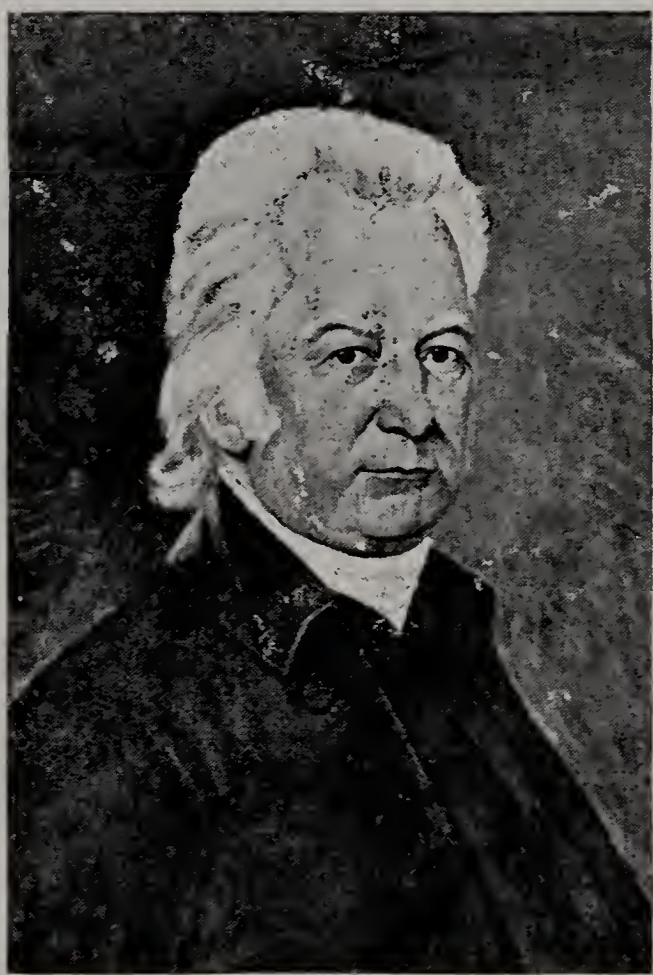
The third subject to challenge the minds and the pocketbooks of the district landowners was maintenance of highways. A person delighting in puzzles or what is sometimes called "pure" research might happily devote days to an early Amherst map. The town meeting minutes are crammed with data, most of them elusive. We have seen that in the original allocation of homelots provision was made for roads. But as the community developed, new roads were needed and old ones were modified and sometimes discontinued. In district days there was no need for street names, and the identifying landmarks which appear in the minutes are usually houses, mills, or simply lots. These, also, were constantly changing.

The topographical north star, so to speak, was the Hartling Stake, located at the four corners in the center of town. It dates from the very beginning of the village, a tentative site for the meetinghouse being indicated as "neare the Hartling Stake." Local historians have tried in vain to explain the name, or, for that matter, the visible thing itself. Whether it was a primitive bulletin post or merely the conventional stake and stones, we do not know. There are two or three references to another landmark designated simply, but apparently adequately, as "the Pole." At any rate the Hartling Stake was indispensable to the town-meeting clerks; the center schoolhouse, for example, was almost invariably referred to by them as "the schoolhouse near the Hartling Stake." Since the literalists have failed to elucidate, the poet may be permitted to suggest that Hartling Stake was at least symbolic of heart-o'-town.

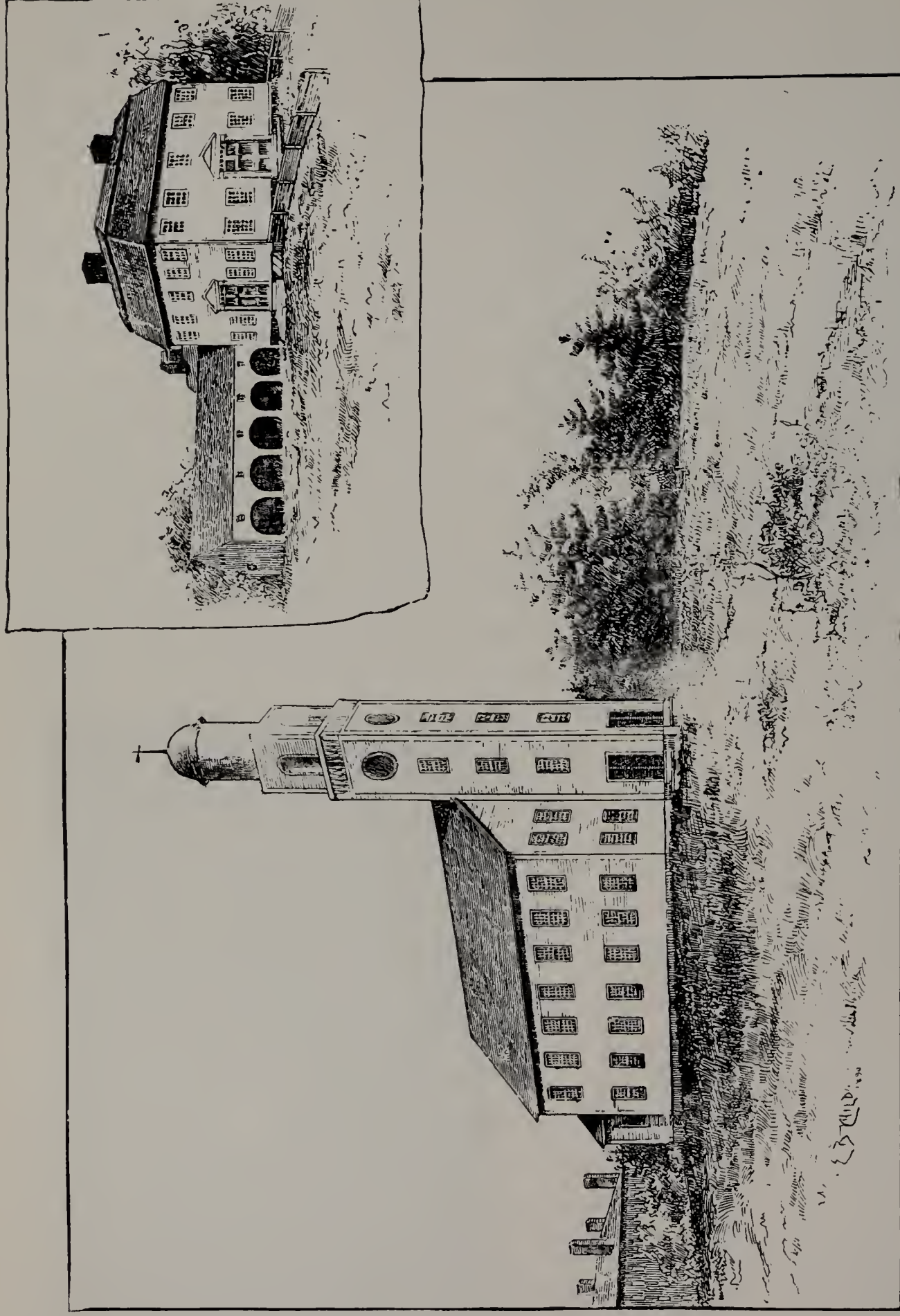
The highways were frequently referred to, but perhaps not always explicitly, in terms of their authorization. The two main thoroughfares north and south were king's highways. The intersecting route eastward toward Pelham and the northwesterly branch of what is now North Pleasant Street were county roads. Amity Street is mentioned in a deed of the Nehemiah Strong homestead as a king's highway. The other streets were town ways. In 1799 a turnpike road was opened, in spite of strong protests from Amherst, from the east boundary of the town to Worcester. Turkey Pass, which later became the Notch, was known as a "crack,"



Rev. David Parsons, Jr.



Dr. David Parsons, 3rd



First Parish—Second Meetinghouse and Parsonage

and the highway which was lifted over it in 1763 was called the Crack Road. There were also a few recognized private ways.

Naturally there was much highway legislation: locations, relocations, repairs. It was voted "to Do sumthing to the town Heighway between John Nash Jun^{rs} and William Boltwoods Lot." It was voted "that Town Heighways Shall be Put in Repar Equally With the County Rods." There were also: bridge building, claims against encroachers upon public property, claims by owners whose land had been requisitioned for new streets. It was all, somehow, experimental, or at least tentative, and most of the decisions were the result of popular vote.

As illustrative of such legislation let us lift from musty minutes a deliberation which took place in the west-middle schoolhouse on January 5, 1767. A committee was created "to Consider how much Land Shall be granted to Mr. Simeon Strong for his purchasing for the District the Land where the Path goes from hartling Stake to ye Boundary near Wolfpitt Brook . . . so that a Kings Highway may be laid out from said Hartling Stake to said Boundary near Wolf-Pitt Brook as the travelling Path now goes"; but "in Case the District cannot obtain a Discontinuance of the Kings Highway where it now lies, and a Kings Highway where the Travellin Path goes within one year, then this Grant shall be Void."

Hartling Stake was, of course, at the crossroads at the center. Wolfpit Brook, so called because a wolf trap was maintained nearby, was the one which still trickles its unseen way under East and North Pleasant Streets and finally empties into the University pond. The King's Highway must have been the western boundary of the cemetery. The "traveling path" was a short cut, to the west, connecting the center with the county road near the south of Mount Pleasant. The project meant shifting the street a few rods in that direction and exchanging certain land with Mr. Strong for that purpose. But a king's highway was involved, and Amherst had to get permission from Boston to do it.

The meetinghouse on Moot Hill dominated the village, and geographically it stood midway as between north and south but not as between east and west. Nearby was the most highly regarded inn, presided over for many years by Moses Warner. There were also a pound and a cider mill. There was the home of Simeon Strong,

later to become a justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. The other lawyer, Josiah Chauncey, and the physician, Dr. Seth Coleman, also lived nearby. The earliest store, properly speaking, that of H. Wright Strong, was just across the way from the tavern, but probably not until after the Revolution. The two small streams, Mill River to the north and Fort River to the south, with their various mills, were, however, a centrifugal influence. Another, and stronger, centrifugal force was beginning to make itself felt on East Street, where substantial homesteaders were already, and not altogether patiently, biding their time. But to get to these outlying regions one had to travel largely on foot or on horseback. Wagons and carts were rare.

This then was the district of Amherst, in the township of Hadley, in the county of Hampshire, in His Majesty's colony—the province of Massachusetts Bay.

Rebellious Patriots

OR should we call them patriotic rebels?

In the spring of 1774 the people of Amherst addressed "The Respectable Committee of Correspondence in the town of Boston" as follows: "We are not insensible of the oppressions we suffer and the ruin which threatens us, or regardlis of the Diabolical Designs of our Mercenary and Manevolent Enemies Foreign and Domestic, and are ready not onley to risque but even to sacrifice our Lives and Properties in Defence of our just rights & liberties."

If the engagement thus predicated did not prove to be a tragic experience for Amherst, it was certainly a six-year headache; and the migrainous symptoms were threefold: martial, economic, and ideological. The patient, moreover, had no assurance that the danger and distress would terminate eventually in well-being. The Revolution was a stern and strenuous test of conviction and courage. It is pleasant to note that Jeffrey Lord Amherst, upon being asked by the King to take command of the British forces in America, declined, saying that he could not bring himself to fight against the colonists "to whom he had been so much obliged."

So far as Amherst herself was involved, the Revolutionary War was neither destructive nor deadly. No Amherst acre was ravaged. No Amherst soldier was killed. It would seem that military service was more haphazard than hazardous. The war was an ordeal, a devastating one; but it was not a disaster.

There were undoubtedly a hundred and fifty Amherst men in the American armies, and probably more. Some of those accredited to Amherst, however, were import substitutes, and one local muster roll of sixty-three, while including some Amherst men, was more largely made up of those from Belchertown and Granby. But nearly half of the unquestionably Amherst names are found in more than one list, some of them in three or four; and in most cases these reappearances mean re-enlistments. Periods of service ranged all the way from eleven days, in the case of the Minute Men who hurried to Cambridge after the attack at Lexington, to the three-year commitments of 1778. Companies would organize, join the fighting forces, and dissolve. Circumstances of induction presented a varied pattern, from voluntary enlistment during the early days of enthusiasm to conscription after spirit had begun to ebb away. A drafted man could provide a substitute, and the town adopted the practice of meeting its quotas by means of attractive inducements regardless of local residence, and even of reimbursing individuals who had acquired exemption by means of the purse. Amherst had no heartbreaking honor roll. Still the long, perilous years were fraught with constant uneasiness, discomfort, and fear; and, with grim rumors sifting in from beyond the Berkshires, no man planting a crop could be certain who might reap it.

Of what sort of men were they—these Amherst soldiers of '75? Their names are suggestive. Of the indubitably local recruits, twenty-six were Dickinsons; there were nine Smiths, five Warners, five Hastings, five Moodys. A few, a very few, of the given names suggest English royalty. Over ninety per cent of them were Biblical: Aaron, Abner, Adam, Amariah, Amasa, Ambrose, Amos, Azariah. The first man to join the navy was an Aaron—Aaron Kellogg. These men were Puritans, and the sons and grandsons of Puritans.

Among the Amherst men there were eight or ten officers above the rank of sergeant, and probably the most energetic and effective,

at least in length of service, was the now-forgotten Capt. Reuben Dickinson. He had seen action in the French and Indian Wars, most notably in the expedition against Crown Point. It was he who responded to the alarm from Lexington with the company of Minute Men mentioned above. The following month he assembled another company, part of which was present at Bunker Hill. In the first of these companies Daniel Shays of Pelham was a sergeant; in the second he was a lieutenant. In 1776 Captain Dickinson organized a third company, and led it in the expedition to Fort Ticonderoga. In 1777 we find him and "his company," apparently a fourth, at the Battle of Saratoga. And in 1778 there appears a muster roll of another company, accredited to him, including the names of fourteen Amherst men, whose enlistment was for three years. The captain himself was at home during the winter of 1779-1780. Regardless of whether he returned to active duty thereafter, his military record is certainly impressive.

Much better known to posterity and a much more distinguished citizen was Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr. Although still enrolled as a student at Dartmouth, he seems to have taken part in Captain Dickinson's eleven day excursion to Lexington. Later he served for four months in 1776 and eight in 1777 and 1778 respectively, most of the time as lieutenant. He saw action in Canada, in the battles leading up to the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, and in Rhode Island. In civilian life he became active in the militia and in politics, achieving distinction as adjutant general and as a Congressman. The Amherst chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, organized by the versatile and indefagitable Mabel Loomis Todd, to honor his resolute wife appropriated and have perpetuated the name Mattoon, have affixed to the town hall a memorial plaque, and take pride in pointing out the family homestead facing the East Street common. They have also marked the graves of sixty-seven Revolutionary soldiers in Amherst cemeteries.

Throughout the eighteenth century our village was economically nearly self-sufficient. Most of what she ate or wore or built or burned came from her own fields or woodlands. But war, with its demand for firearms, ammunition, uniforms, and unproductive labor, unsettled any such equilibrium, and she found herself harassed by taxes and threatened by inflation. "Massachusetts assessed

upon the people in two years, 1779 and 1780, five taxes payable in bills, amounting nominally to $17\frac{1}{4}$ millions of pounds. Of this sum $11\frac{1}{2}$ millions of pounds, or 37 millions of dollars, were assessed in two taxes in 1780, to call in continental bills. When these bills were paid in, 100 dollars may have averaged in value about 1 dollar in silver. In April 1781 1 dollar in silver was equal to 200 dollars in bills. It was in these days that the old soldiers, as they used to relate, sometimes paid 50 dollars for a meal of victuals or a mug of flip."

In 1780 Amherst appropriated three hundred pounds "to maintain schools" and ten thousand "to pay for Beef agreeable to a Resolve of the General Court." And to cap a climax of pecuniary complication there is the following: "voted—to Grant Waitstill Dickinson one Hundred Dollars for Counterfeit money received by him for Taxes."

The ambiguities as between "hard money" and paper are indicated in a letter written in 1782 by David Parsons, son of David, accepting the\ pastorate of the Amherst church: "The several sums which you offer me in Settlement and Salary, I understand to be in Silver money, Spanish milled dollars at six shillings, or other Silver or Gold equivalent. . . . I must understand it to be your intent that no advantage shall ever be taken of any Paper Currency Depreciated or of any act of Government that may be passed, to avoid the fair honest and equitable intent of the Contract."

Pounds, dollars, gold, silver, paper, counterfeit—certainly the traders, great and small, particularly the small, had a budgetful of irritation and uncertainty. If the well-to-do adjusted more readily and were more secure in the resumption of specie standards, still they too had their financial difficulties.

Quite as memorable, if not as disconcerting, as the martial and economic conflicts were the ideological ones.

"John Dickinson estimated that nearly half the inhabitants were Tories or neutrals." If that estimate was in any sense accurate, most of the neutrals seem to have fallen into line-of-duty when patriotic legislation or other activity demanded; and the most outspoken of the Tories are on record as saying, "We have done our full Proportion in the Expence of the War." Actually it was not so much the number of the Tories in Amherst as it was their normal

prestige and influence. They were the key men of the community: David Parsons, for nearly forty years the pastor; Seth Coleman, the physician; Simeon Strong, the lawyer; Solomon Boltwood, listed in 1770 as the largest property owner; Josiah Chauncey, justice of the peace and often moderator. These men were not traitors or creatures of caution; rather they were assertive conservatives. According to a descendant of one of them, Lucius M. Boltwood, they felt that the colonies were not strong enough to maintain their independence. They were a minority, but a minority that had to be reckoned with. And so tension festered, threatening to erupt in actual violence.

On the 4th of May, 1775, "the Inhabitants of the District of Amherst assembled at the meeting hous," subjected Josiah Chauncey to a public inquisition, and decreed that he should burn the military commissions which he had exercised under the Crown. They had already created an emergency committee, which was to stand guard for six years under various names and with varying personnel, but most commonly known as the Committee of Safety. This committee launched a campaign against subversives. In 1776 it succeeded in having committed to the Northampton jail Josiah Chauncey's son as "an enemy to . . . America," and some other man whose name we do not know as "notoriously inimical to the cause of American liberty."

The following June the village took under advisement the case of certain men "supposed to be Inimical to the Interest of the United States," but subsequently dismissed the charges against them. In the records of the Supreme Judicial Court of Hampshire County one may still read the following item: "When in 1776 an Amherst Tory failed to heed the call of the local committee, men were sent to bring him. Finding his door barred, they broke it down, dragged him out, and with 'Sticks, Clubs & Fists did bruise and wound' him." The Committee, moreover, restricted four fellow residents of doubtful loyalty to their farms, and confined nine others, under guard, in the home of Lieut. John Field, now the University faculty clubhouse. Both prosecutors and defendants in this incarceration appealed to Boston for support, or perhaps guidance; they were told that the charges should channel through the local courts. Perhaps because of this injunction and perhaps be-

cause of bulletins of victory from Saratoga, some kind of a truce was agreed upon and the prisoners were released. At the following annual town meeting, however, it was voted "that Persons not owning Independence on the Crown of Great Britain agreeable to the Declaration of Congress shall not vote."

Two years later the patriots relaxed their discipline to the extent of electing Tory John Field, Jr., to a minor office. And two years later still, the long struggle having been concluded at Yorktown, the iniquitous Josiah Chauncey was once more the village moderator. The feud, though still smoldering, was no longer aflame.

Probably the most troublesome, and certainly the most fully recorded, of the Toryisms was the case of the senior Reverend David Parsons. His waywardness was included in the agenda of a meeting of the district in 1775, but a vote to summon him to face his accusers was reconsidered and lost. In January 1777 his indiscretions were again reviewed, and the citizenry went on record to the effect "that the conduct of the Rev^d David Parsons is not friendly with regard to the Common Cause." There seems to be no reason to discredit the story, publicly vouched for by a descendant of one of the principals, that upon an occasion of the minister's reading from his pulpit a proclamation concluding with the conventional "God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," Mr. Parsons added, "But I say God save the King"; whereupon the fiery Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr., retorted from his pew, "And *I* say you're a damned rogue."

This was the Nat Dickinson who first, and frequently, represented Amherst in the General Court; who, in 1775, replaced Tory Dr. Coleman as district clerk and Tory Simeon Strong as district treasurer; and who animated the Committee of Safety. It is a permissible conjecture that it was he, either as committee man or as treasurer, who was largely responsible for withholding the minister's salary, as first indicated in the recorded vote "to pay what was not paid him for his Salary ending with April 1777." It would seem that Treasurer Dickinson failed to do so, however, for a little later we find the district setting up an *ad hoc* committee of five "to Converse with the Rev^d David Parsons respecting a settlement with him for all monies Due to him." Presumably as a result of this conference the annual district meeting of 1780 voted: "to Pay

Mr. David Parsons three salaries . . . in Silver.” But Nathaniel Dickinson was still treasurer and (therefore?) the recalcitrant man of God went to his grave in West Cemetery unpaid.

When the villagers met to deliberate in the meetinghouse the following March, they were uneasily aware of the ghost of that old and unhonored obligation. So they created another committee “to settle with the Heirs of the Rev^d David Parsons for the Salaries Due to them.” And three months later they voted again “to Pay the Executor of the Rev^d David Parsons D^d the whole of the Salaries Due to him . . . in Gold or Silver with the interest Due on the same.” Did Treasurer Dickinson still hold out? At any rate, in October 1783, we find in the minutes another entry: “that the Treasurer call on the Constables to Pay the Debt Due to the Heirs of the Late Rev^d David Parsons for Salaries; as soon as may be.” There is a touch of irony in that last phrase, for it was five years later that there appeared another relevant entry, this apparently the conclusive one: “Voted to rais five Pounds for the Purpos of Settling with the Hears of the Rev. David Parsons, Late of Amherst—Deceas^t.”

All that we know about the Patriot-Parsons controversy is contained in these minutes. What incriminations were tossed about in the Clapp Tavern, what huddles took place behind closed shutters, what blows may even have been offered or exchanged, we can only guess. There may have been plenty.

Meanwhile another menacing issue had been raised, and, after a fashion, resolved.

David Parsons the father was indeed dead. But David Parsons his son was very much alive. A Harvard graduate in the class of '71, he had prepared for the ministry, and had acquired in the Boston area a favorable reputation as a preacher. Incidentally he had inherited substantial property. But he, too, had been a Tory. When his name was suggested as his father's successor, there was determined opposition. The objectors, however, had no comparable candidate of their own, and after a year or so of bickering, in 1782, Dr. David Parsons was officially elected and ordained. Surprising indeed, and perhaps significant, is the fact that on the committee that so recommended and on another that made arrangements for the ordination was none other than Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr. It

would seem that the forces in conflict were now effecting a readjustment upon other than a loyalty basis, that it was not so much a reconciliation as a realignment. The strong-minded men of Amherst were finding other grounds upon which to disagree.

Disunion Within

THE fruit of the tree of freedom is division. "Union and Liberty" is an excellent slogan and a super-excellent paradox. But, all in all, our New England ancestors preferred liberty to union. They liked to be free.

As Separatists they had withdrawn from the Established Church, and later from the scene of its establishment. In the New World they had seceded, in a sense, from themselves, and had colonized Rhode Island. They had forsworn and forsaken Wethersfield and Hartford, preferring the rigors and uncertainties of Norwottuck. They had wormed themselves loose from Hadley. With valor and violence they had thrown off the manacles of England. They scorned compromise and resented confinement. For them the frontiers were footpaths to freedom; the dissatisfied and the unsatisfied could always move on. But sometimes it was better to fight.

And now, in the cold comfort of the meetinghouse, the citizens were beginning to discuss—the meetinghouse. It was becoming crowded. At least on Sundays. Amherst was growing, but not the meetinghouse. It was, of course, only about thirty years old. But it may have seemed to be already outmoded. At any rate, no one is on record as in favor of enlarging it. Every one wanted a new one. And it happened that the idea, in its impact on union, was explosive.

In pre-horse-and-buggy days Amherst must have seemed to be a far-flung neighborhood. Even to-day, with their automobiles, the North Amherst people think of Bay Road as quite-a-step. And residents of the various outlying regions think of those at the center as socially a little smug. It is not surprising that their predecessors, in 1770 let us say, were also comparing notes and counting noses. As people they already outnumbered those in the village

proper, and as landed proprietors, and therefore voters, they all but did the same. The situation must have been somewhat complicated by the group at East Street, a group that was both central and outlying. How did East Street vote on January 13, 1772, when a decision was reached "to take Sum Measures to divide the District into two Pearishes"? And what happened during the next two months leading up to a reconsideration, based upon "a supposed insufficiency in the proceeding," a reconsideration which resulted in a tie? Sphinxlike the minutes do not tell.

Whether or not the divisionists had already done so, they now, almost certainly, did increase their voting potential, as charged by their opponents. All things considered it did not seem to them unethical to resort to a by no means novel device to provide more proprietors. The device was simple. A landowner would deed to his son a part of the farm, perhaps only an acre or two, and thereby create another voter. Of course the villagers could have done the same, but apparently, for some reason, they didn't. At any rate, on April 14, 1773, in an effort to achieve disunion by indirection, a vote was passed "to Build two Meetinghouses in the District of Amherst."

Thus outmaneuvered and outvoted, the unionists appealed to Boston. If their logic in maintaining the rights of a minority was sometimes a bit erratic, they did conclude with definite requests: "Your Petitioners most humbly pray your Excellency and Honors to interpose for their relief by allowing them whose interests and sentiments are united, to be a corporation and Parish by themselves in the middle of Amherst," and thus "protect an injured and innocent Party," and "suffer our opponents rather to be ruined alone." They asked for an order forbidding a tax for meetinghouse construction, or at least exempting the petitioners from the same. They asked that a committee be sent to Amherst to investigate their grievance. And they appended the signatures of seventy "inhabitants." Their petition seems to have inspired confidence, and the General Court did issue a stay of building proceedings except at the center of town.

The divisionists retaliated in January by securing a vote "to Divide the District of Amherst by an East and west line from the Centre of the Meeting House as it now stands, by a large Majority."

The man who was responsible for these minutes was the moderator, Moses Dickinson, who, as strongly suggested by that final phrase, was himself a divisionist. A fortnight later he called another meeting and was thereat appointed, with Reuben Dickinson, to present to the General Court a reply to the statement from the outraged minority and to ask for authority to proceed with the division as voted. We do not have this reply, but the duly elected agents apparently presented it; and, on March 14, 1774, the voters created a committee of three, the two afore-mentioned agents and another of similar convictions, "to wait upon the Courts Com^{tee} that is to Repare to Amherst to Discide the Dispute."

The committee "repared" and rendered a judgment. It has not come down to us, but is clearly implied in the Court's order of June 10, 1774, that the district reimburse "the original Petitioners for their costs and charges," and also the visiting committee for theirs. That the line of demarcation should pass through the center of the meetinghouse may have given the whole proposal a tinge of fantastic irony. Not only would it have placed the more thickly settled residences at both the center and East Street on the outermost fringe of the new districts, but it indicated no awareness of other implications involving highways, schools, and other services. It seems more like an impudent gesture than a seriously considered plan. But in times of stress the sense of practicality is sometimes as elusive as the sense of humor. At any rate, the subversive scheme fell through and Amherst remained intact.

The decision did not leave everybody happy. What the divisionists might have tried next we do not know. As it turned out, there were other things to think about. The General Court and its city were steaming in the fumes of the Boston Tea Party, and the little village of Amherst was soon to experience not so much union in the face of impending danger as discord of a new variety.

Amherst managed to worry through the Revolution, as we have seen, with a single meetinghouse and a Tory minister. She also, surprisingly in view of both divisionist and loyalist dissension, thereafter established another Tory in what must have looked like an apostolic Parsons succession. That a man like Nathaniel Dickinson seems to have acquiesced may have been due to what was again brewing in the way of local rebellion. For almost immediately his

name appeared as one of those petitioning the General Court for a new parish. He was also on a committee of three to select a site for a second meetinghouse. The apparent acquiescence may have been really smart strategy. A request for a second parish might receive more sympathetic consideration in Boston if its proponents could argue that the first one was still under the leadership of Tories. The mere territorial argument had to be abandoned if the second meetinghouse and the new community center were to be not in North Amherst or South Amherst but at East Street. The acts and thinking of Nathaniel Dickinson would make a fascinating story were their data available.

Legally Amherst was still a district, not a town. The necessary act of legislation did not materialize until 1786. But for all practical purposes she was a town. Not only had she been allowed to send a representative to the general assembly; in 1782 she had actually been fined for failing to do so. Thus the minutes, as of 1776, began to refer to her as "the town of Amherst." Her state of township may have made any further efforts at dismembership unpromising. But something could still be done within her prescribed borders. There was still incompatibility.

David Parsons, the son, was installed on October 2, 1782. On October 15 twenty-two "aggrieved brethren" formally agreed to organize a new church and parish. They presented their erstwhile fellow worshipers a statement "purporting their dissatisfaction at the conduct of ye church and their determination to leave them." Foremost among the secessionists were Captains Reuben Dickinson and Ebenezer Mattoon. But whether the Tory issue was a reason or only perhaps an excuse, whether a basic motivation was the ill will engendered by the futile attempt at division, or whether the fomenting force may have been the deep desire of East Street residents to become the dominant part of town—we can only guess.

Both parties to the disagreement were willing to refer their problem to an interchurch council, but before it had gotten around to meet, the "aggrieved brethren" had actually organized, on November 12, 1782, "the Second Church in Amherst." Therefore the council, when it did finally meet, was inclined to let the matter rest. The General Court gave the First Church people a hearing but

followed along with the council and in May 1783 incorporated "the second parish in the town of Amherst."

The new parish, acting promptly and with the help of the customary barrel of rum, erected a meetinghouse on the East Street common on November 21, and on February 15, 1784, a service was held therein. Moreover Ichabod Draper accepted a call as its first minister and continued as such for twenty-three years. The First Church officers, being sparingly endowed with Christian grace, continued to create difficulties until, in 1788, the General Court passed a special act of legislation to clarify the status of mutual independence of the rival churches. This independence quite naturally meant a separation of church and state. Supervision, financial and otherwise, had thitherto been the prerogative of the town; hereafter it would be that of the two parishes. And the parishes could be, and sometimes actually were, dominated by non-church-members, public-spirited but conscientious citizens who had never experienced conversion. And this anomaly was to prevail in Amherst until the present century.

It might seem that the old meetinghouse would now have been sufficiently large for its diminished congregation. The one at East Street, however, was brand-new, and, quite naturally, more up-to-date. Pride cometh before a raising. So, in 1788, the First Parish rebuilt: upon its former site, an edifice sixty-five feet in length, embellished with porch, belfry, lightning rod, and a bell. Sentiment hovers about the fact that this bell was "number two" of the forty-six which were inscribed "Revere"; ultimately it was to experience conversion and establishment in our Baptist sanctuary. The pulpit was now to the north. There were galleries and doorways on the other three sides. And for the next twenty years the citizens held most of their town meetings in the First Parish meetinghouse.

The East Street community, however, became more, rather than less, competitive. Its Kelloggs had maintained inns during the early days of the settlement; and after the Revolution came the well-known Clapp Tavern, and later the Baggs. In 1820 the second of these was the headquarters of the probate court. There were stores at East Street about as early and about as many as at the center. It is significant that when, in 1806, a post office was provided to han-

dle mail once a week, East Street was chosen for its location. Just when and where and how the early traders became tradesmen is hard to say. With barter more common than currency almost every man was, in a sense, in business. Statistics for 1784 indicate the aggregate "stock in trade" as valued at £ 162, which was about twice the current appropriation for highway maintenance. There is every indication that East Street was about as lively in trade as the center. In 1815 or thereabouts there were three definitely designated stores at the center: two, those of Wright Strong and Jay White, near the Hartling Stake, and the Dickinson Store near Mount Pleasant. East Street seems to have had three stores, too: those of James Kellogg, Captain Dyer, and John Hunt. By 1824 North and South Amherst had stores of their own.

That the relationship between the center and East Street was more than mere rivalry is suggested by the mutual resort to epithets: the center was called, ironically, Mount Zion; East Street, explicitly, Sodom. Town meeting decisions continued to be close; the discussions were combative and sometimes acrimonious. It is related that the Zionites, losing such a contest by virtue of what they thought was a crucial betrayal, loaded the Judas into a barrel, and rolled him down to Sodom.

With the resignation of David Parsons, in 1819, and the taint of Toryism thereby removed, the First Parish did approach her unfilial daughter with a proposal of reunion, but the two never got together, even to the point of disagreeing over details. The mists of time have gathered about this "disunion within," and the motivations can never now be clearly determined. The spirit of liberty was a factor, possibly the underlying one. It expressed itself politically in terms of the lively issue of Toryism, geographically in terms of four village centers separately located and not altogether unequal in population, and economically in terms of business. It was still touch-and-go as to which of the centers was to become The Center in upper case.

Thus the competition intensified, and Triangle Street remains to this day its no longer remembered symbol. Although the only established stage route in 1819 skirted Amherst along Bay Road, there was a good bit of travel to and through Amherst between Deerfield and the towns to the east. In fact as early as 1759 a certain

Christopher Page is said to have conducted a private mail service between Deerfield and Boston. The second parish business men, looking jealously at Boltwood's Tavern and other activities at the center, dreamt of advantages which might accrue to them could this north-and-south traffic be diverted into East Street. There were North Amherst people, too, who had participated in the great division and were sentimentally inclined toward the East Street church and stores. What was needed was a short-cut—Triangle Street.

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On December 4, 1820, at one of the few town meetings to be staged in the second parish meetinghouse, the citizens voted to approve "a Town or private way" from the neighborhood of Dickinson's store to the foot of what was later to be Emily Dickinson's garden. Ten days later, subsequent to, but not necessarily because of, conferences between the selectmen and the abutters whose land would be requisitioned, they voted "to discontinue said Road." There may have developed complications, or conversions, or an unexpected concentration of Mount Zion votes.

The Sodomites, however, believed that they were not only morally entitled to a private way but in a position to get it. And they quietly went to work with pick and shovel. At the end of the first day's effort they had something to show. But on the following morning it had all but disappeared. Their opponents had been working with comparable ardor throughout the night. This, then, became a pattern of combative procedure. Pickets were stationed. There was some violence but no bloodshed. When the zealots from Mount Zion began creating obstructions, the Sodomites appealed to law, and Charles Kellogg, the chief offender, was brought into court and fined. There seems to have been a tacit acceptance by both contending parties, presumably on advice of counsel, that if the highway could be opened to the extent of a successful transit of some vehicle, it must be thereafter regarded as in a sense legitimate. So the East Street people set a D-day, enlisted a full force of workmen and guards, and posted at the west end an adventurous teamster who, at the signal, should make a dash for it. The West Street people also rallied for the fray, but probably in lesser strength and perhaps with ebbing spirit. Pride and perseverance were admirable virtues, but, after all, the contest was becoming

tiresome, even a little trivial. At any rate, at what seemed a propitious moment, the lunging cart achieved a precarious progress, over obstacles material and human, from one end of the disputed highway to the other, and presumably to the sound of hisses and applause.

At the next town meeting, held on his own home grounds, Deacon Nathan Franklin of the second parish was elected Amherst representative in the General Court, defeating Samuel Fowler Dickinson, Esq., of the first parish by a vote of 126 to 94. There was also a single token vote for another first parish man—Noah Webster. This meeting also voted “that the Selectmen be . . . directed to clear the incumbrances out of the Road which was laid out by the Selectmen and accepted by the town on the fourth day of December, A.D. 1820, leading from Solomon M. Dickinson’s store across Daniel Kelloggs, Widow Colemans and William Dickinsons land to the highway near Samuel F. Dickinson Esqr^s Garden and to keep the way clear of the same.”

Thus another spectacular round was won by the second parish.

But—

Samuel Fowler Dickinson, Esq., and Noah Webster, and Rev. Dr. David Parsons, and certain other kindred spirits on Mount Zion were about to bring into being an institution to be known as Amherst College. And it was to be located almost in the very shadow of the first parish meetinghouse belfry. In the long fight between East and West this was to be the knockout blow.

Law and Disorder

OBEDIENCE to law is liberty. Our forefathers have subscribed to that paradox to the extent of carving it in stone above the doors of their courthouses. It is a noble pronouncement to look up to, but a hard one to live by. And those who would examine its implications and reduce it to simpler terms may well study the disturbing demonstration known as Shays’ Rebellion.

The new republic in the west was now footloose and free. It was also financially bankrupt. Massachusetts was haunted by a debt

of some three million pounds, not payable in Continental paper money, which had come to have virtually no purchasing power at all. We still use the phrase "not worth a Continental." A great many of the people were personally in debt, and their creditors were frequently in debt to others. Exportation of fish and farm products was a mere shadow of what it had been before the war, and imported goods in consequence had to be paid for in cash, of which there was little. We have the ledger of Ebenezer Pomeroy of Hadley, in which all coins are explicitly identified as such. There was a kind of grim realism in a bill before the General Court providing that more paper money should be issued, thereafter to depreciate according to a predetermined schedule until it should simply vanish in thin air.

Actually, operating under the conservative constitution of 1780, the General Court adopted too severe measures in a frantic effort to achieve economic stability. Although retaining a moderate paper money provision which had been in effect throughout the war, it "not only provided for the collection of extremely heavy taxes but abolished all legal tenders except gold and silver, thus establishing hard money standards for the payment of private debts." And, unhappily, the burden lay most heavily upon the marginal, lower-income classes, and by the same token upon the agrarian villages, like Amherst, in the western counties.

That the citizens of Amherst were aware of impending crisis is indicated by the fact that on January 25, 1782, they devoted an entire town meeting to the problem. Their deliberations ultimately led to three votes, not self-explanatory to us, but still suggestive: first, "Elijah Baker and Joseph Eastman to go to Shutesbury on the 30th of January to meet the towns that meet there"; second, "that the Treasurer Sell the New money for Notes and Grain at the best lay he can"; and third, "that the Treasurer exchange the Notes in hand for the Notes the Town owes."

Bewildered debtors were already facing disaster. As the taxes soared, farm prices and wages declined. Officers of the law were dragging impoverished farmers into court. An Amherst man walked to Worcester and back in an effort to secure funds to pay his taxes. In 1785 Hampshire courts tried eight hundred cases, one for every four families in the county, most of them suits against

debtors. It is said that a county jail had held ninety prisoners for six months. The farmers were not only desperate but embittered. "While war profiteers and ex-privateers managed to ride out hard times, and the mercantile interests continued to accumulate considerable quantities of specie, far greater deterioration prevailed in the interior of the state. Here mortgages were foreclosed, and debtors were imprisoned and even sold for servitude." A myopic government was attempting to squeeze an exhausted lemon and finding nothing but rancor. In the eyes of Massachusetts law all men were by no means equal. They were not even free.

The hapless local agents of injustice were the lawyers and judges. The latter were closely identified with the vested interests, and the services of a lawyer were not available for a man who could not afford a fee. The lawmakers and the higher courts were beyond the reach of rural bankrupts. But the lower courts were accessible. And, in April 1782, a mob moved into Northampton to disrupt proceedings. The ringleader, Samuel Ely, was arrested, sentenced to six months in prison, and thereafter rescued. Three ringleaders of the rescue party were in turn arrested and imprisoned in Northampton. Thereupon Capt. Reuben Dickinson of Amherst assembled three hundred insurgents at Hatfield, and, by show of force, accomplished their release.

This was only a preview. By 1786 the stage was set for the drama entitled Shays' Rebellion.

On August 25 delegates from fifty western Massachusetts towns met at Hatfield and drew up an impressive list of grievances to be presented to the General Court. In an effort to be constructive they also asked for a revision of the constitution and an authorization of more paper money. Four days later a mob prevented the convening of the Northampton court of common pleas and general sessions of the peace. In this mob there was an Amherst contingent under Lt. Joel Billings. In the manuscript archives at the State House there is this reference: "Lieut. Billings came in at the head of his party with his Sword Drawn and his men mostly armed with guns, cutlasses, etc."

Conditions were now literally beyond endurance and disquietude became manifest in places higher up. Rufus King, the American diplomat, wrote to John Adams in London: "Perhaps in Massa-

chusetts, considering the prostrate condition of our commerce, the government have pressed the subject of taxes of the direct kind . . . beyond what prudence would authorize . . . maybe nearly equal to one-third part of the rents or incomes of the estates of all the inhabitants."

On September 26 the Supreme Judicial Court at Springfield was due to convene. By order of Governor Bowdoin a body of soldiers under Major General Shepard was stationed at the courthouse. From the street came excoriations from embattled debtors under the not altogether temperate leadership of Capt. Daniel Shays. The turbulence was such that the court adjourned, the troops were removed to the nearby arsenal, and the rioters reluctantly disbanded. There were Amherst men serving under General Shepard: Capt. Moses Cook, who saw duty for a week, and the martial Ebenezer Mattoon, who was present for three.

In the musty and crabbed diary of Jonathan Judd, Jr., there is this poignant reference: "Tuesday, 26, 1786 . . . A very sorrowful day. Brother against brother. Father against son."

Who were the brothers from Amherst? The fathers and sons?

Certainly "a large majority of the men of Amherst favored the rebellion; how many of them bore arms under Shays cannot be stated with accuracy, but when General Lincoln passed through the town in pursuit of the insurgents he found but few men at home." As official evidence there is the fact that 113 Amherst men were later subjected to a loyalty oath as a basis of reinstatement as citizens. Among these there were seventeen Dickinsons, eight Ingrams, eight Moodys. There were no Boltwoods, no Chaunceys, no Parsons, no Strong. But there were at least two notorious Tories, and also Simeon Clark, who in 1776 had been appraised as the wealthiest man in town. Capt. Moses Cook, who had reported to Shepard for duty, must have been the son of Moses Cook, a Tory, and one of them is listed as taking the loyalty oath. There were two Daniel Kelloggs, also father and son; at least one of them was a Tory, and one of them took the loyalty oath. Ebenezer Boltwood, Tory, and Captain Mattoon of Shepard's command were both active later in securing a pardon for a Pelham rebel under conviction of treason.

There would seem, then, to be no pattern of personnel so far as

Amherst was concerned. In general, the well-to-do were less energetic in seeking redress than the stricken ones. And the Tories, incidentally, were usually well-to-do. But even they must have been moved by the sight of neighbors in distress. And they certainly did not desire Amherst to become a community of paupers. However much they may have disapproved of Daniel Shays and his methods, they could hardly have been insensitive to his cause. And, as we have seen, at least a few of them were officially associated with the rebels. In one way or another Amherst seems to have been pretty much an insurgent town.

Shays himself, the master insurrectionist, was a familiar figure in Amherst. He was a farmer over in "equivalent land," the part which had become Pelham. He had been sued for the indignity of a twelve dollar debt. His technique for meeting the present crisis, for meeting all crises, was not that of the economist or the statesman, but that of the soldier. He had enlisted under Reuben Dickinson at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, and later, as captain of his own company, he had fought courageously in the campaign against Burgoyne. His headquarters were now the old Conkey Tavern in Pelham, later Prescott, while Landlord Clapp at East Street unostentatiously maintained a supporting outpost. A communication in the *Hampshire Gazette* made reference as follows: "We are credibly informed that the renowned Mr. Shays has been for some time past extremely careful of his own preservation, as to keep a constant guard about his person and also his seat in Pelham; and that Billings of Amherst has likewise kept about thirty men on duty to guard him from supposed danger." As a recruiting officer during the Revolution he was reputed to have had a way with the reluctant, and this power of persuasion may have been his trump card in achieving top-billing in the new struggle. At one time he was accredited with having over a thousand men in his personal command.

Following the Springfield skirmish, the General Court gave the Governor a vote of confidence, and also passed a riot act as a further gesture of support. Thereupon, under date of October 23, 1786, Captain Shays circularized the selectmen in western Massachusetts towns: "I request you," he wrote, "to assemble your men together, to see that they are well armed and equipped, with sixty rounds

each man, and to be ready to turn out at a minute's warning." A committee of seventeen, including the above-mentioned Capt. Joel Billings, was set up "for the Suppressing of tyrannical government," and Governor Bowdoin promptly issued a warrant for their arrest.

On January 12, 1787, the citizens of Amherst dispatched a protest and plea to the General Court: "Your petitioners, being deeply affected with the Calamities and Distresses that attend and embarrass the Good People of the Commonwealth . . . and sensible that there are many things in the transactions of our Publick Affairs that have a Direct tendency to onvolve the Common People in a State of Slavery and Poverty" enumerated ten "grievances" including the "late great tax" and the Riot Act, and suggested remedies.

General Shepard was still keeping guard at Springfield, and Gen. Benjamin Lincoln was bringing reinforcements from the eastern part of the state. Shays' "army" was also moving rapidly toward Springfield, hoping to take over the arsenal before Lincoln should arrive. It did succeed in reaching their destination first. Upon arrival, however, it found that its support under Capt. Luke Day had not appeared, and that General Shepard was firmly entrenched behind cannon at the arsenal. Whatever was to be done had to be done quickly, and Shays attacked. Shepard's troops, after an ineffective warning shot, fired to kill, and the insurgents withdrew in panic and scurried to Ludlow. The next day Lincoln marched into town, moved his four regiments across the river on the ice and into West Springfield, from where he sent Day scampering back to Northampton, Amherst and Pelham. Shays likewise withdrew to Pelham, by way of South Hadley and Amherst. Lincoln encamped in Hadley and therefrom opened negotiations with Shays. But Shays merely withdrew still further, and Lincoln, passing through Amherst, overtook the rebels in a blinding snowstorm in Petersham, and straightway dispersed them. On his return he quartered for one night in Amherst, at the south of Mount Pleasant.

That was the end. Shays fled into New York, and many of his followers sought safety beyond the Massachusetts borders. General Shepard, writing to the Governor, listed as "infamous characters" recently seen in Brattleboro, Joel Billings, Reuben Dickinson, and of course others. Ultimately most of the insurgents took the loyalty

oath, and all of them, including the fiery captain, were forgiven. And, remarkably soon, Amherst and the rest of Massachusetts recovered a large measure of economic equilibrium and stability.

The Bowdoin administration immediately initiated steps toward conciliation. Nonetheless in the spring elections the liberals took over with impressive majorities. And, strangely enough, the Rev. David Parsons of Amherst, certainly no liberal, was invited to preach the customary election sermon. His text was as follows: "*Proverbs* 24:2. When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice; but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn." It sounds like a Tory benediction upon the suppressed but somehow successful insurrection. A further bit of irony may be found in the fact that seven years later Joel Billings served a month's imprisonment for debt. There is also the road from Belchertown to Orange, Shays Highway—evidence that the impulsive and truculent captain achieved for himself a kind of immortality. The blunders and failures of men are often their footsteps toward fame.

Amherst Academy Emeritus

As illiteracy gave way before the school dames, the people of Amherst began to lift their eyes toward higher education. Already a goodly number of their sons had become collegiate. From 1771 to 1823 Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, Middlebury, and Williams graduated no less than thirty-nine of them. The Strong brothers, Simeon and Nehemiah, were the earliest. David Parsons and Nathaniel Dickinson, both Harvard '71, were the earliest of those actually native. Ebenezer Mattoon, Dartmouth '76, prepared for college by tutoring with the elder David Parsons; Samuel Fowler Dickinson, Dartmouth '95, with Judge Strong; and most of the others must have done something very similar. It would seem, however, that our village had an instinctive respect for cap and gown.

The public school program so laboriously legislated into being was in no sense college-preparatory. At the turn of the century there were six all-service schools, each in its own district, but

largely elementary and primitive. A daughter of Noah Webster, who in 1812 had chosen Amherst as an economical place to work on his dictionary and who lived just north of the present town hall, has left us a description of her schoolhouse: "the forlorn, unpainted and unshaded building on one side of the village green. There was an entry way, where hats and cloaks were kept, and then one large room with an open fireplace at each end, and in winter full of green logs with the sap oozing out of them. Two or three rows of hard benches with desks before them were on each side, and a tall desk in the center of the room was for the teacher. There were no maps or pictures . . . or equipments . . ., but I remember that the children were happy and anxious to learn." Her father, when his new neighbors initiated a move toward something in the way of higher education, instantly fell into line.

This was still in the memorable year of 1812. On June 29 the citizens voted "unanimously, excepting three dissenting votes," that they considered "the late declaration of war by the government of the United States against Great Britain unnecessary, impolite, and unjust," and elected as delegates to a western Massachusetts convention of protest Samuel Fowler Dickinson, Simeon Strong, and Ebenezer Mattoon. And only a few days later a little band of enlightened enthusiasts launched a subscription campaign for an academy. The Dummer School, established in 1763 and the earliest of its kind, was what they had in mind. Nearer, in Westfield, New Salem, Deerfield and Monson, there were other precursors. Hadley was about to convert its Hopkins grammar school into an academy. But there were not very many.

The academy would be a private enterprise, in a sense not unlike the proprietary schoolhouses which were being built by interested citizens and later taken over by the town. The spirit of its promoters must have been irresistible; the responses to their appeal were certainly generous. On the 5th of December, 1814, to the accompaniment of bells and illumined by bonfires, the Academy's new building was formally dedicated, and thereafter immediately opened for classes. Two years later the new school was thought to have qualified for official recognition, and the General Court was petitioned to grant a charter. In their statement the petitioners declared: that they "have, at an expense of about five thousand

dollars, purchased in a central and commanding situation in the town of Amherst . . . one half acre of land, and erected thereon and thoroughly finished, for the purpose of an academy, a brick building, fifty feet long, thirty-eight feet wide and three stories high, with a cellar under the whole, one part of which is used for a family kitchen. The whole is designed to accommodate two schools: one for males and the other for females; and also a family to superintend the building and keep a house for boarding” . . . that “more than one year ago they established a school in this building, under the care of a preceptor, assisted during the two summer quarters by a preceptress; that the average number of schollers in the winter has not been less than sixty, and during the two summer quarters more than ninety. And the prospects of usefulness therefrom are such as to excite pleasing anticipations in the patrons and friends of science and useful literature.”

The General Court, favorably impressed, granted a charter “for the purpose of promoting morality, piety and religion and for the instruction of youth in the learned languages and in such arts and sciences as are usually taught.”

It was a customary practice for the Commonwealth to accompany such an act of incorporation with a half-township of land in its district of Maine. But somehow in this instance the provision failed to get into the bill, and David Parsons, president of the newly created board of trustees, asked for a reconsideration. In consequence the General Court approved the grant of land, subject, however, to the Academy's raising another \$3000 for operational purposes. This the trustees proceeded to do, and soon they also sold their six square miles of unoccupied land “down east” for \$2500 more. Amherst Academy was on its feet.

These patrons of learning, the men who had the imagination, initiative, and generosity to bring into being what was actually the earliest institution of its kind in what is now Hampshire County—who were they? Dr. David Parsons, who provided the building lot just across from the present Jones Library, was one. Another was Noah Webster, who, as Amherst's representative in the General Court, guided the measure through the precarious channels of enactment. Samuel Fowler Dickinson was a third. Calvin Merrill, in whose home the local chapter of the Order of Masons was or-

ganized, was a fourth. There is evidence that the most energetic of all was Hezekiah Wright Strong, son of Simeon, merchant and later postmaster. He at least came to believe that he had been. In a letter to Noah Webster twenty-five years after the event he said that he not only made the crucial contribution of funds but also corralled virtually all of the other donors. Since Mr. Strong's statement was made to a man thoroughly conversant with the entire enterprise, we may accept it as certainly honest, and probably true.

For at least thirty-five years the Academy thrived. Its catalog of 1818 listed 152 students, exactly one half of them being "masters" and the other half "misses." Although the Academy never thought of itself as a boarding school, nearly fifty per cent of its students were from out-of-town. Two of the local boys, Osmyn Baker and Edward Dickinson, were destined to become Congressmen. Among the "misses" was a girl from Buckland by the name of Mary Lyon. The popular female department, however, proved to be a somewhat doubtful blessing. It occurred to those in authority that social propinquity might become sexual too. Moreover the girls were obviously not preparing for college; prior to Mary Lyon's experiment in South Hadley there was no college into which they might be admitted. So, in 1824, they were also denied admission to the Academy, the enrollment figures of which quite naturally dropped. In 1827 the services and the beneficiaries were as follows: the Department of Languages (Latin, Greek, and soon thereafter French)—forty-six students; the Department of English Studies (with emphasis upon the "universal utility" of an innovation called a blackboard, capable of kindling interest in "even the dullest scholar")—twenty-five; the Department for Teachers (anticipatory of the training which would eventually assume the all-inclusive title "education")—twenty-two. That the Academy was fulfilling its main objective is indicated by the fact that over four hundred of its boys later entered Amherst College.

The girls and their parents were not pleased by the exclusion act of 1824. After all, women were people. They, too, had minds. Thus it came to pass that in 1832 the upper part of David Mack's substantial building northeast of Hartling Stake became the domicile of a day school called the Amherst Female Seminary, which

three years later listed no less than 192 girls, a few from such distant parts as Georgia, Alabama, Michigan Territory. The principal, and presumably the founder, was Miss Hannah White, a friend of the woman who five years later was to establish a similar seminary, ultimately to become Mt. Holyoke College. In 1838, however, Mack's Hall burned to the ground, the promising project was abandoned, and Mr. Mack, as some sort of compensation, replaced it with a ladies hat factory.

Not improbably as a result of this fire and its consequences Amherst Academy reopened its doors to "misses," and the following year there were 103 of them enrolled in a student body which soon reached a peak figure of 220. It was in 1841 that the Academy matriculated a girl who was to be in attendance off and on for six years and was posthumously to become one of America's most highly regarded poets—Emily Dickinson.

The Academy never enjoyed the advantage of the leadership of a great personality. As a matter of fact it had a new principal, frequently just out of college, almost annually. Nahum Gale was an exception, with an administration of four prosperous years. Simeon Colton, who came to Amherst after a successful decade at Monson, stayed for three. Leonard Humphrey, with a two-year record, has, in a sense, had greatness thrust upon him by virtue of Emily Dickinson's ardent acclaim. Joseph Estabrook, William S. Tyler and Ebenezer Snell, Tyler not being a principal, moved from the Academy over onto the nearby hill to become professors at Amherst College. Among the teachers at the Academy was one with the glamorous name of Evangelinus Apostilides Sophocles, who briefly taught his native language before transferring to a notable career at Harvard. Among the preceptresses was Orra White, who later married Edward Hitchcock.

The decline of Amherst Academy during the 1850's should not seem surprising. Unlike most of its fellows which have survived, it had to compete, sentimentally at least and during a critical period, with a very popular local college. More significantly, it had to compete with other local schools at its own level.

Calvin Merrill, one of the Academy's influential founders, died in 1820. There was a relative, however, a well-to-do Philadelphian, by the name of Martin Thayer. About 1825 Martin Thayer moved

to Amherst, purchased Mount Pleasant, the most scenic site in the village, and erected there a stately residence, paneled in chestnut and flanked by chestnut trees, architectually somewhat akin to College Hall. In 1826 he became one of the trustees of the Academy, and was for several years their auditor. He had hardly established himself in Amherst, however, when he suffered the loss of his wife, and consequently, in a sense, his home. Thereupon he enlarged his new house by adding two spacious wings and connecting balconies, thus creating what was, all in all, the most impressive edifice in town, described by Rufus Choate as "the jewel on the brow of Amherst," and in 1827 he opened the Mount Pleasant Classical Institute. He almost certainly thought of this as supplementing rather than supplanting Amherst Academy. He installed as principal Francis Fellowes, a young man, who, as a senior at the college, had taught at the academy; and supplied him with a staff of seven or eight teachers. Sixty-eight boys were immediately enrolled, among them Henry Ward Beecher. The "classical" curriculum was supported by "commercial theory" and "physical culture in the gymnasium." Experiments were made in student government, offenders being privileged to panel a jury of their peers. And in 1831 Thayer, Fellowes, and Rev. Joel W. Newton were granted a charter by the General Court. And then, within two years, for reasons unknown, the school folded up, its wings to be ultimately removed and converted into village homes. An academic tradition lingered on, however, and in 1846 Rev. John A. Nash set up a more modest school, which was to continue as a successful family enterprise until 1902. In 1927, when the chestnut-paneled building burned, the chestnut trees had also vanished. Even a highly regarded Clews Staffordshire plate which featured a picture of the institute, had become a very rare collector's item. *Sic transit gloria. . . .*

There were other somewhat comparable schools, desultory ones, in Amherst during this period: Miss J. Draper's boarding school for young ladies about 1827; Samuel White's "select school for young ladies and gentlemen" at North Amherst about 1845; the Misses Emerson school for girls in the present Historical Society house, in the 1850's; the Hon. R. B. Hubbard's boarding school for boys on Lincoln Avenue, attended for a little by Eugene Field,

(1855–1868); Miss Brewster's school conducted in the Academy building in 1856; Rev. George Cooke's young ladies institute in 1860. In 1854 a charter was secured for something academically more ambitious, a Ladies Collegiate Institute, but the christening was premature, for the progeny was stillborn. All of these educational efforts were, to some degree, in competition with the Academy.

There have, of course, been many other private schools, a good many of them sporadic. They have not been competitors, partly for the obvious reason of chronology, but partly because they have been more largely interested in younger children. The following are among the better known: "The Convent," a home school for girls, conducted from 1877 to 1900 by a daughter-in-law of President Stearns; a kindergarten on Amity Street, presided over by a daughter of Amherst's blind classicist, Professor Crowell, from 1909 until 1936; the Oak Grove School of Emma Owen and Vryling Buffum in what came to be known for fifty-four years as the Phi Gamma Delta house, from 1883 to 1898; the R. G. Williams family school on Amity Street, and the Misses Howland school in the North Prospect Street Octagon; the Herrick School for backward children (1881–1922), one of whom later became a village character—the affable and entertaining "Dean" Burns; most recently the Little Red Schoolhouse, which opened in 1938 on the eastern slope of the Amherst College campus. These among many.

Incidentally there have also been private schools for adults, most notably William Fletcher's summer school for librarians (1891–1905), and the Sauveur summer school of languages (1877–1899), which, in 1883, had an enrollment of nearly 350, from half of the states of the Union.

However it was not the local private schools of its period which offered the stiffest competition for Amherst Academy; it was the developing public school system, not only in Amherst but everywhere. On March 3, 1851, the citizens voted to establish "a high school" to operate in three different parts of town. And in 1860, they voted to construct an all-town high school building at the center. The following year this was ready for dedication.

Simultaneously the Academy closed its academic doors. Its physical ones continued to function a little longer, to accommodate

certain more or less educational activities: for example, as parish house for Episcopalians while Grace Church was being built; as office for President French while the agricultural college was getting under way. But, in 1868, the trustees sold the property to the town for \$5,000, and the town promptly razed the three-story brick building to make room for the Amity Street schoolhouse.

It remains to declare unto you an anomaly. Legally the Academy still exists; financially it still continues to function. And this anomaly is not without significance.

There was, of course, a considerable sum of money in invested funds, and there was written into the agreement of sale an understanding as to how these funds should be used: "the support of a classical department in the town high school under the direction of the said trustees." Three years later, however, the selectmen attempted to bring about a revocation of the defunct academy's charter, thereby securing for the town its financial resources. This the trustees strongly protested. Edward Dickinson declared in town meeting that the Academy's charter was perpetual and inviolable; not even the General Court could recall it. And Dr. Stearns, president of Amherst College and also of the Academy's board of trustees, published an eloquent communication to demonstrate that the transfer would not be even to the advantage of the town. In January 1872, the selectmen having appealed to the state committee on judiciary, Edward Dickinson opposed the proposal so effectively that the committee refused to recommend it, and the funds remained, and are still, intact.

Now after eighty years it appears that perhaps President Stearns was right. The annual income has never been large. According to current standards it may seem inconsequential. But it has made possible prizes for excellence in classical studies, the purchase of books and other equipment along the same lines, and frequently instruction, not otherwise available, in Greek. It also made possible the publication, in 1929, of Frederick Tuckerman's admirable history *Amherst Academy—a New England School of the Past*.

But, perhaps even more important, it has meant that once a year a little group of cultured men, a group which down through the years has included eight presidents of Amherst College and four of the University, have met to review the teaching of classical studies

in the public schools and to give to it the moral support of their interest. In this quiet way Amherst Academy still upholds a great tradition. "It is an honor," Stanley King was wont to say, "to be elected a trustee of Amherst Academy."

A College on the Hill

ANNALISTS agree that Amherst Academy was the mother of Amherst College. The metaphor implies, and the records suggest, that there was also a father. The father was Williams College.

"The first impulse and movement toward the establishment of a college in Amherst" was a conclave of clergymen at Shelburne Falls in 1815, at which time the Rev. Theophilus Packard, a Williams trustee, initiated the idea of moving Williams College to Amherst. Thus Amherst Academy and Williams College became aware of each other, and there followed a period in which they may be said to have experienced the alternating attractions and revulsions of courtship. Their failure to achieve an enduring marriage was due to the instability, and later the perversity, of *alma pater*. But that he was party to a vowless union, such as it was, is evidenced by the fact that the first Amherst College president and fifteen of the forty-seven original students came directly from Williams. There is, therefore, something almost sadistic in the Williams College effort to avoid a birth and subsequently to obstruct a christening. It is not a pretty story, but it gives to the early chapters of Amherst's history the literary qualities of conflict and romance.

It is certain that the sire had become lonesome and uneasy, isolated in academic austerity among his purple hills. A freshman, Emory Washburn, later to be a Williams trustee and governor of the Commonwealth, was to recall that during his college days, "nothing in the form of a stagecoach or vehicle for public communication ever entered the town. Once a week a solitary messenger, generally on horseback, came over the Florida Mountain, bringing our newspapers and letters from Boston and the eastern part of the state. Once a week a Mr. Green came up from the south, generally in a one-horse wagon, bringing the county newspapers printed at

Stockbridge and Pittsfield." And the hills themselves were higher, it would seem, in those days.

So when Theophilus Packard laid the Shelburne resolution before his fellow trustees on May 8, 1815, it seemed to make sense. They deliberated, off and on, for three days, and then, as the customary last resort of wavering wills, appointed a committee. They also elected a president, Zephaniah Swift Moore, who had been teaching languages at Dartmouth, and who would come to Williamstown, it would seem, only if he could be assured that the college would presently be moved into civilization. The committee, nonetheless, reported the removal plan inexpedient "at the present time and under existing circumstances."

Meanwhile Amherst Academy was feeling an inner urge toward procreation. In 1817 one of her trustees, Col. Rufus Graves, Dartmouth, '91, "something of a fanatic, sluggish and phlegmatic in appearance, rude and ungrammatical in speech," but "sometimes inspired by some mysterious vital force," proposed a foundation which would provide a professorship of languages, thereby to enhance the training of "indigent young men of promising talents and hopeful piety, who shall manifest a desire to obtain a liberal education with the sole view to the Christian ministry." The Academy trustees were sufficiently impressed to give approval, but after several weeks of disappointing solicitation of funds, much of the time in the neighborhood of Boston, Graves realized that it could not be done. "This plan was not popular," said Noah Webster, "and failed of success." Samuel Fowler Dickinson has been credited with the diagnosis that it was not sufficiently bold, and out of this diagnosis came what must have seemed to many an utterly grandiose project—a \$50,000 "permanent charitable fund as a basis of a classical institution for the education of indigent young men of piety and talents for the Christian ministry," this institution to be located in Amherst.

With this up her sleeve the aspiring Academy began setting her cap for the lonely one in the Berkshires. She had, it is true, been favored with something resembling an approach; representatives of Williams, with an eye toward removal, had paid a visit to Amherst. Encouraged by the mere fact of this visit, but not, it would seem, by any actual conversations, the Academy trustees voted to

launch their enterprise; and straightway, without benefit of leap year, they formally proposed a match. And suffered the humiliation of a tacit snub! The other party, it seemed, was lonely, but also aloof.

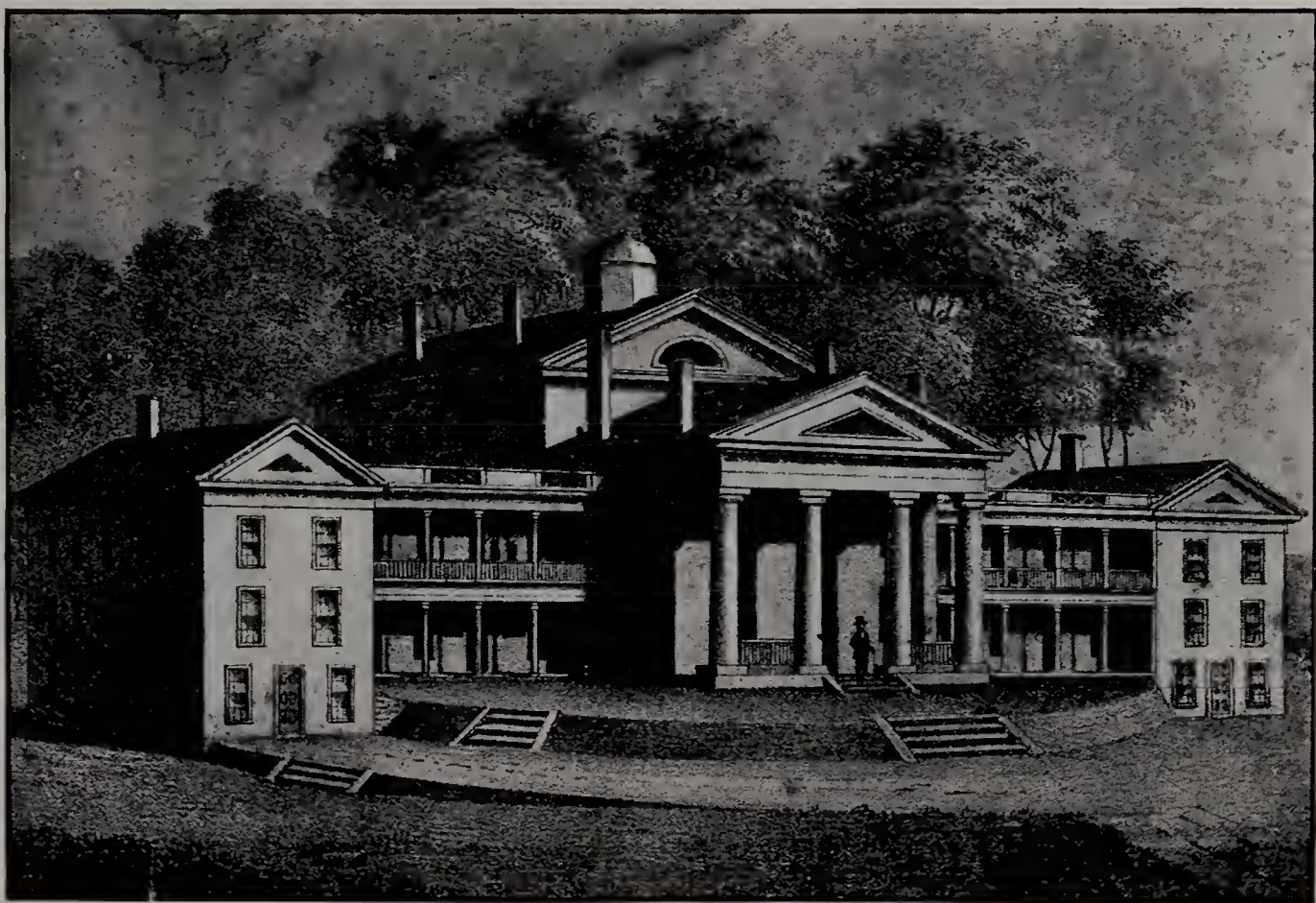
Thereupon the Academy brought about, in September, a convention of clerics from thirty-seven western Massachusetts towns. They responded enthusiastically to the idea of the charitable institution, but when it came to the question as to where it should be, there was a division of minds. Some fell into line with the Academy's desire for Amherst; a larger number were in favor of Northampton. At this point Samuel Fowler Dickinson came in from his office nearby and swung the vote toward Amherst. Among those who were present to witness these deliberations and decisions were the Rev. Dr. Packard and two other Williams trustees. Possibly encouraged by these men, the Academy immediately sent a committee to Williamstown to report to the president and faculty the convention proceedings, but found them non-committal. The proposal was considered, however, at a meeting of the Williams trustees on November 10. At that meeting President Moore threatened to resign unless some positive action was forthcoming. Thereupon a majority of the trustees went on record as in favor of removing the college to "some more central part of the state," and appointed a committee to conduct a survey of possible locations.

The Academy hastily prepared a brochure entitled "Reasons for Removing Williams College to Amherst." The committee, however, were not persuaded; instead they unanimously recommended Northampton. In line with this recommendation, the Williams men held a procedure meeting in Northampton, and petitioned the General Court for permission to move. This permission, however, was not readily forthcoming. The Academy was no longer interested. Moreover Williamstown residents lobbied against the bill. Even Harvard opposed it, her president ridiculing the Williams trustees as thinking "themselves guardians of science and literature all over the world." And the legislative committee reported back in January 1820 that it was "neither lawful nor expedient to remove Williams College to Northampton."

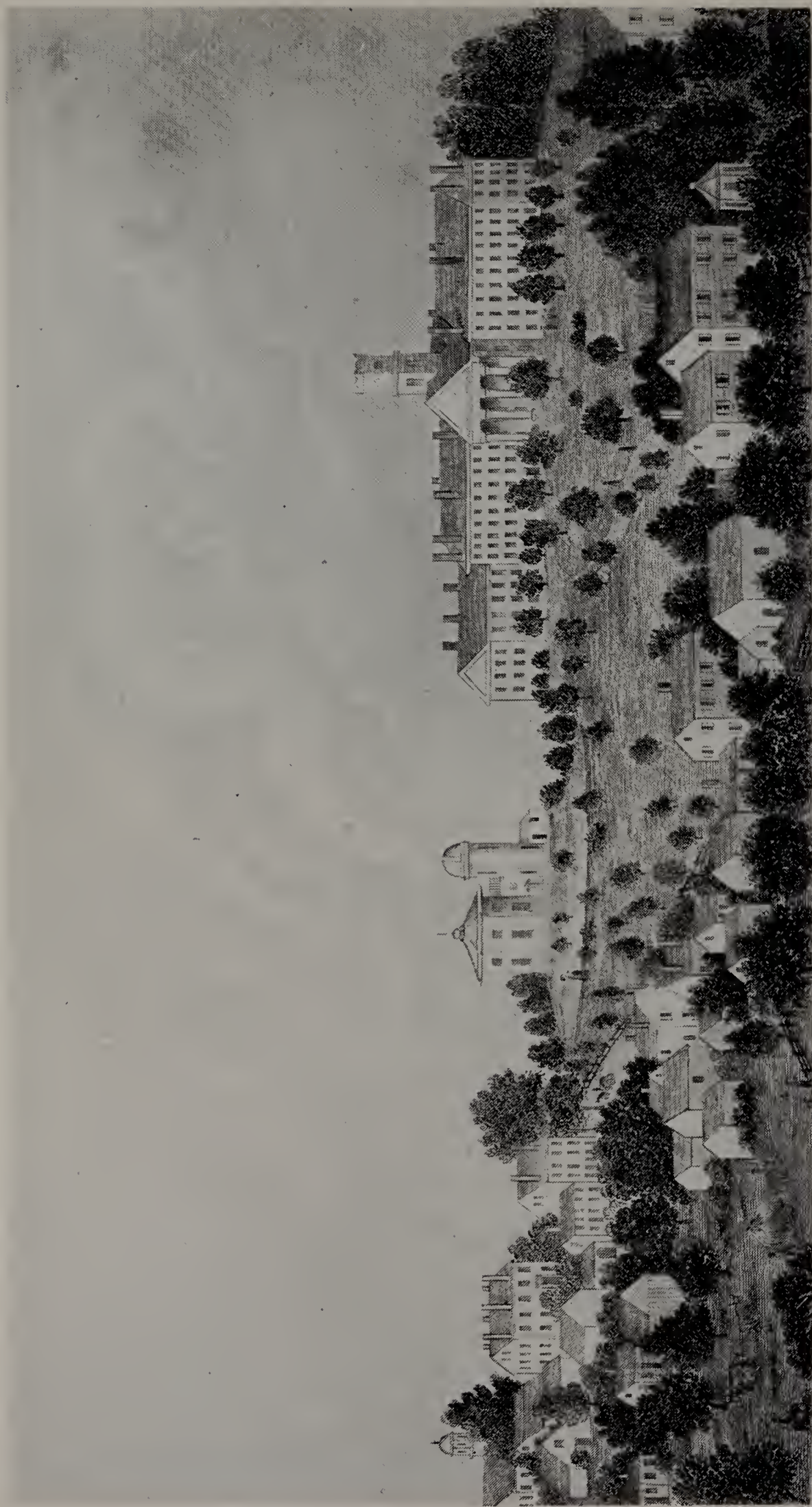
This decision was, in a way, a break for the Academy. Williams



Amherst Academy



Mount Pleasant Classical Institute



Amherst College, about 1850

could not remove into Northampton; apparently it could not remove anywhere. The pleasing prospect of an alliance had also faded away. Yet, when Amherst College finally got a charter five years later, section 7 was to read as follows: "that if it shall hereafter appear to the Legislature of the Commonwealth lawful and expedient to remove Williams College to the town of Amherst, and the trustees of Williams College shall agree so to do, the Legislature shall have full power to unite Williams and Amherst Colleges in one university at Amherst."

Meanwhile the Academy, with the Northampton threat eliminated, was not inactive. Indeed Colonel Graves and his associates were doing surprisingly well in their drive for funds. On May 12, 1819, they had reported \$37,244 either paid or pledged, a number of the donations being \$1,000, and most of them representing actual sacrifice. Apparently a union with Williams was not essential, and now, with a free field in the Connecticut Valley assured, the Academy trustees moved confidently toward their goal.

They purchased from the estate of Col. Elijah Dickinson, for \$1,187.50, "nine acres more or less" on the hill to the south of the meetinghouse, and on August 9, 1820, laid the cornerstone of what was to be South College, an imposing if not ornate piece of architecture. David Parsons, president of the board, presided. Daniel A. Clark, his successor in the local church, preached a sermon entitled "A Plea for a Miserable World." Noah Webster, in an address, also referred to "miserable children of Adam." These were not, however, utterances of frustration or despair. They were exultant. This Charitable Institution was being dedicated, by training "indigent young men of promising talents and hopeful piety" for the ministry, to dispell the clouds of misery to which the speakers so feelingly referred. The world was out-of-joint, it was true, but, unlike Hamlet, they rejoiced that they were born to set it right.

The Charity fund itself could be used only for scholarships, and was to be administered by a separate board of overseers. The building, South College, was being financed otherwise. And, precariously, from day to day. As money became more and more difficult to obtain, Graves canvassed the community and the countryside beyond for matériel, for labor, even for provisions. His zeal was fanatical but contagious, his faith supreme. There is a story of his

coming back from a fund-raising expedition. "Well, Deacon Graves," the chairman of his committee asked him, "How much money have you raised?" Thereupon the indomitable man rose and solemnly replied, "Not a cent. Brethren, let us pray." Noah Webster recalled the struggle as follows: "It sometimes seemed as if the enterprise must be given up; but help gratuitously came. And such were the exertions of the Board, the committee, and friends of the Institution, that on the ninetieth day from the laying of the cornerstone, the roof timbers were erected on the building. When the roof and the chimneys were completed, the bills remaining unpaid and unprovided for were less than \$1300." Said Heman Humphrey, "It seemed more like magic than the work of craftsmen."

On May 8, 1821, the trustees of the Academy elected Zephaniah Moore of Williams College president of "the Charity Institution of this town"; and, upon his acceptance, they engaged two other teachers: Gamaliel Smith Olds, who had once taught at Williams, for mathematics and natural philosophy; and Joseph Estabrook, preceptor of the Academy, for languages. On September 18 all three were formally installed. The fifteen undergraduates who followed Moore over the hills from Williamstown, and perhaps the two Williams trustees who became trustees of his new college, are evidence of his personal appeal, and he proved to be equally effective and popular in Amherst.

A commencement exercise was held in August 1822, with two graduates, one of whom, Ebenezer Snell, who was to be for many years professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at the College, gave the salutatory address, in Latin. The graduates received certificates of achievement, all that the institution was legally entitled to grant. Two years later Union College made its own degree available for seven Amherst graduates.

Another dormitory, Old North, and a house for the president were rapidly going up, financed by another subscription drive, \$30,000 fully pledged by May 1824. Emerson, who visited Amherst in 1823, confided to his diary: "The infant college is an infant Hercules . . . Never was so much striving, outstretching and advancing in a literary cause as is exhibited here . . . The students . . . write, speak and study in a sort of fury, which, I think, promises a harvest of attainments."

Yes, Amherst Academy had mothered into life, with no official paternal support, a robust youngster, but one as yet unchristened and both technically and figuratively illegitimate. That its sire should have been led by jealousy or fear or resentment to obstruct, with almost vindictive persistence, its recognition may seem unnatural but still might have been predicted. There had been an actual case of infanticide in Hatfield in 1762, when an institution to be called Queen's College was smothered by the General Court, out of consideration for Harvard, whose overseers argued that such an establishment in the barbarous west "would make learning contemptible." The academic spirit cannot be depended upon to be liberal.

President Moore may have submitted a petition for a charter even before his inauguration. In June 1821 he wrote in the *Hampden Journal*: "We have a fair and well grounded claim for a charter, which claim I cannot doubt the Legislature will acknowledge at their next session." They didn't. In fact it was not until January 1823 that such a petition appeared in recorded agenda. Then, it having been referred to a joint committee, the solons were circularized by an anonymous pamphlet, "Remarks on the Amherst Collegiate Charity Institution," charging said institution with "local aggrandizement," "sectarian views," and, in reference to Williams, the desire "to blast and wither its prosperity." The fantastic pamphlet prevailed. The petition was denied. And even the legislator from Amherst, representing, it would seem, East Parish rather than the town, voted against it.

Nothing daunted, the Academy presented another petition, supported by a memorial from subscribers to the Charity Fund, in June. This petition was reported favorably from committee, but the Legislature kept it on the table for six months.

At this point, President Moore unexpectedly died. He was succeeded by Heman Humphrey, the Congregational minister in Pittsfield and an overseer of the Charity Fund. Dr. Humphrey was inaugurated on October 15.

But it was now another Dickinson, Austin but not akin to Samuel Fowler, a virile albeit a rather unclerical minister of the gospel, who caught up the proverbial torch. The friends of the new college were largely Federalists, but their party candidate for governor in

1823, Harrison Gray Otis, reflecting almost certainly opposition at Harvard, was evasive on the subject of the charter. His Republican opponent, however, William T. Eustis, was on record as favorable. Austin Dickinson launched an energetic campaign for Eustis, throughout the state, on the charter issue. He may well have been responsible for his candidate's modest majority. When Unitarian Otis met his rival afterwards, he asked him, "How are you pleased with your new party, Mr. Eustis? I understand you have joined the Orthodox." "I am not fully initiated," replied Eustis, "but I believe in the doctrine of *election*."

If this election was in the nature of a mandate, it was still inadequate to insure the charter. In January the House again voted it down, 108–81. But President Humphrey, encouraged by growing support, assembled another brief of testimonials and renewed the petition in May. And this material, together with antagonistic data assembled by the Williams trustees, was thoroughly aired. The committee to which the matter was referred recommended a grant. But the House still held back. It did, however, create a committee of five to go to Amherst and report what they might find.

This committee appeared at Boltwood Tavern on October 4, 1824. They remained for a fortnight. When they called attention to the fact that the Charity Fund included \$15,000 of unpaid pledges, nine of the trustees assured payment by a personal bond. There were, of course, other funds, and the Williams lawyers were there to interrogate. When an unpaid \$100 pledge was challenged, Samson Wilder took out his pocketbook and said, "Mr. Chairman, I will cash that note." Whereupon the chairman remarked, "Sir, we did not come here to raise money for Amherst College." Indeed when the obstructionists persisted in making a point of further unfulfilled pledges, three trustees assumed responsibility for the entire sum. After the investigation the trustees also re-subscribed the deficit in the Charity Fund, thereby removing the last possible financial objection to the charter. It is of interest that East Parish was still anti-college, its spokesman being Ithamar Conkey, who, ironically, later became himself a trustee.

The committee reported back to the Legislature that the opposition to the charter was principally "from Williams College," that the promoters, albeit giving evidence of some "indiscreet zeal,"

had not overstepped the "bounds of prudence," that Amherst was an excellent location, and that, since Williams and Amherst could hardly be united, Amherst should be given a charter.

So, in January 1825, the General Court tackled the ticklish subject once more, once more discussed it, off and on, for several days. And on January 28, by the narrow margin of 114 to 96, the House voted that the petition might be presented. Its enemies still fought a backward action, but, on February 18, the bill of incorporation passed the House by a vote of 96 to 68, a number of members being absent or abstaining; and the Senate thereupon confirmed without debate or roll call. Emerson's "infant Hercules" was thereby duly christened.

Amherst Academy was to survive to see her offspring through the critical years of adolescence. And Williams has survived to engage for many years in a man-to-man rivalry with its lusty scion, and happily to forget that earliest encounter, which was certainly a defeat. Actually, in the light of subsequent history, a Williams victory would have been Pyrrhic. The future of the Berkshire institution was not really in danger. Even before the dispute was settled, its enrollment had increased from sixty-odd in the time of President Moore to 131. It can be seen now that down through the years each college has been, if not essential, at least highly beneficial to the other, both as a challenge and as a collaborator. It was an element of the Amherst victory that Williams also survived.

TWO

Industry, and therefrom—
Another College

The Industrial Era

FACTORY Hollow! Mill Valley! For that matter, Mechanic Street, Mill Lane, Mill Street. These are echoes, lingering but to many ears meaningless, of Amherst's industrial era.

Colonial Amherst found herself, happily, albeit moderately, endowed with water power. To the north a little pocket, soon to be known as Factory Hollow, was activated by Mill River, which glided quietly down from Leverett and subsequently on to North Hadley. To the south a comparable depression, soon to be known as Mill Valley, was activated by Fort River, the sources of which were in Shutesbury and Pelham. Fort River also had two considerable tributaries from the south: Hop Brook, which emptied into it a little above Mill Valley, and Plum Brook, a little below. The names are confusing: the stream to the north is Mill River; the one to the south feeds Mill Valley. At a time when there was no industrial power except from flowing water, Amherst was indeed fortunate. That she realized as much is indicated by the twenty identifiable mill sites within her borders and by the fact that in the 1860's she is recorded as having twenty-six water wheels, totaling 386 horse power. And, of course, a site often meant a succession of mills, and a mill a succession of owners. These annals are therefore illustrative, not inclusive.

With the exception of the half-legendary Foote, we have no evidence of settlers in Hadley's easterly commons before 1727. But there were mills on Mill River soon afterwards. In 1740 Hadley "granted to Nathaniel Kellogg liberty to erect a sawmill on Mill River at the place called the biggest falls"—the site of our present "biggest falls" at Factory Hollow. By 1744 he had a gristmill, drawing, as was frequently the practice, from the same dam. The dam would have been what was known as a log-crib. A sawmill, by

the way, was something very modern, not having been used in England until toward the end of the seventeenth century. There had been none in Springfield until thirty-one years after its settlement. The sawmill was an industrial milestone.

In the meantime a similar development was taking place at the other end of town. In 1748 Hadley voted to build "a cart bridge over Fort River near the mill." In 1763 Amherst provided for repairing "the Fort River bridge below the gristmill." In 1779 there is reference in the Amherst records to "Fort River, where Clarke's and other mills now stand," which implies at least three.

According to records in Boston, Amherst, in 1771, had two gristmills and three sawmills. Referring to these and indicating the practice of joint-ownership, the Hadley historian, Sylvester Judd, said: "John Adams had a mill, and Simeon Clarke three-fourths of a mill, and another was held in 14th's. The Kelloggs owned a part of the other two, perhaps the whole of one." We have a record of a sale of " $\frac{1}{5}$ of $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ " of one of the Roberts paper mills. The Adams mill referred to above was located near the bridge in Cushman. At any rate we know that not long after settlement the Amherst waters were put to work. There is every reason to believe that their owners regarded these mills as substantial and permanent; but by 1840 they had largely given way to more profitable utilization of water power.

These, then, were the enterprises which constitute chapter one in the annals of our industrial era. The sawmills, when they were no longer dependent upon water power, left the streams and went into the woods. There continued to be one in Factory Hollow, however, until well into the 1930's. As of 1957, the only one, but a notable one, is that operated by the Joneses at Cows Corner. The Simeon Clark gristmill, dating from around 1790, was last purchased as such by Alfred Sanctuary in 1903 and was still assessed as a gristmill in 1938; it has recently, however, been converted into an historically attractive place to eat. Likewise the gristmill on Montague Road, built in 1838, was owned and operated by the Stephen Puffer family from 1844 until 1934, and has now become an historically attractive place to purchase gifts. For the thoughtful patron these unostentatious but venerable buildings are truly memorials of our earlier days.

Grain and lumber were, of course, basic to sustenance, but soon the Amherst industrialists became interested in other commodities—commodities not so much of sustenance as of sophistication. For instance, carriages. Carriage-making traces back to 1808 and Mason Abbe. Abbe's product was wagons. In 1827 Lyman Knowles began making carriages in South Amherst, and for a few years he and Asahel Thayer conducted a flourishing business on the road toward Pelham, employing sometimes as many as 150 workmen. In 1838 a group of citizens, including General Mattoon and Leonard Hills, petitioned to be incorporated as The Amherst Carriage Company, but there were objections from a group of twenty-three, who urged that the industry was thriving, in spite of the panic of 1837 and the fact that Knowles and Thayer had recently sold their business to another party. It did not continue to thrive, however. By 1846 only sixteen workmen were listed as so employed; and, except for the Dutton-Hall shop in North Amherst, which carried over into the twentieth century, there was very little carriage-making thereafter.

Its early phase was, in a way, superseded by the making of baby carriages. This industry seems to have reached its peak about 1855 when almost exactly 75,000 carriages, wagons and sleds were turned out in a single year. The Hayward family (B. A., C. E., C. F.), of Nuttingville, near the junction of East Street and Bay Road, had two factories in 1864, and one of them continued, productively, in the family for the rest of the century, C. L. & S. H. Goodale maintained a shop nearby for a decade or so, and David Dexter had one in Mill Valley. That water power was for a while desirable, if not essential, is indicated by a name which has come down to us from the Hayward neighborhood—Baby Carriage Brook.

The clay beds of South Amherst were responsible for another local industry—brickmaking. Early in the century Jonathan Bridgman built his tavern on Bay Road with bricks of his own baking. In 1830 Herbert Gilbert offered for sale a brickyard a mile and a half south of the College, possibly an earlier enterprise of Chester Rice. Certainly Simeon Clark hauled bricks from this neighborhood for the early college buildings. Roswell Howard made bricks in Kelloggville, on the Belchertown Road, from 1836 until 1889. In the late 1880's C. L. Alexander also maintained a brickyard

in this neighborhood, provided shuttle connections with both the railroads, and sometimes produced 4,000,000 bricks a year. His business was taken over, in 1892, by a Palmer firm, but later, as Atwater & Dow, became local again and continued until 1922. At least nine brick houses in South Amherst antedate 1850, and the fourteen inch foundation walls in the Charles Hiram Thayer house suggest that it may have been earlier than the Bridgman Tavern. Unquestionably the availability of brick had an influence on nineteenth century local architecture.

The wooden mills of Amherst were never a good fire risk, and this was particularly true of those in the textile industry. About 1809 Ebenezer Dickinson built a three-story cotton mill in Factory Hollow for the purpose of spinning yarn. He was a farmer and not adapted to such a venture; consequently it did not flourish, and he sold out to a newly organized Amherst Cotton Factory. Thereafter he was caught stealing yarn from his former premises, and left town in great haste, but not before he had laid a violent curse upon Factory Hollow. He did not specify that it should be fulfilled by fire.

The Amherst Cotton Factory was our earliest incorporated industry. It apparently expanded its activities to include woolens. But it did not prosper and was therefore again on the market.

It is in this connection that we come to Amherst's nearest approach to a textile tycoon—Thomas Jones. When he came to Amherst from Enfield in 1838 and built on Amity Street the lovely house which was to gather about it so many literary associations, his father was operating the Amherst Cotton Factory, and continued to do so until it burned down in 1842. At this point Thomas took over. Soon he was maintaining three textile mills in Factory Hollow, successors to the grist- and sawmills. These, for a little, functioned corporately as the Amherst Manufacturing Co., but in 1854 they reverted to their former owner. Jones thereupon sold two of them to Dana Wheelock, just in time from his point of view, for one of them, employing forty hands, immediately burned. And another one, either the one Jones did not sell or a new one which he had built in 1851, also burned, some of the operators having to jump from second-story windows to save their lives.

In 1830 Peter Ingram built a woolen mill a little above the

pond, quite probably on the site of a fulling mill built by his father some years before. But Peter Ingram's mill, after various vicissitudes, went up in flames in 1847. In 1845 Thomas Jones was party to building a woolen mill, and in 1852 another, this one to be known as the Westville Company, at the foot of Meadow Street. His interest in the second was brief, but shortly after his death in 1857 both of these mills were destroyed by fire. Thus within fifteen years six textile factories in the North Amherst neighborhood burned to the ground and the industry there never recovered either courage or credit. Ebenezer Dickinson's curse would seem to have been altogether adequate so far as North Amherst was concerned. In the twentieth century, however, the Amherst Manufacturing Company took over a cotton thread factory in Kelloggville and ran it for over twenty-five years. But the fact that in 1919 its property tax was exceeded by a hundred others would suggest that its operation was a modest one. To all intents and purposes the Thomas Jones tradition and the North Amherst mills burned out together.

Commercially it was the hat business that established Amherst as an industrial center, and it was the Hills family that established the hat business. And, incidentally, it was the hat business that established the Central Vermont Crossing as the industrial center of the village. Transportation, particularly the railroad, was now a more important factor than water power.

Leonard M. Hills was the pioneer. In 1829 he set up in East Amherst a small shop for the making of palm-leaf hats. At that time, however, and for a quarter of a century afterward, such hats were largely made as piece work in the homes. The leaves having been split in widths for braiding, the subsequent work on them was "cottage industry." That this practice even antedated Leonard Hills is suggested by a daybook entry as of 1822: "credit 4 hats @ .25." A Sweetser & Cutler notice in 1846 is of interest: requesting "their customers to return as many hats as possible before the first day of January"; and another from O. M. Clapp referring to those "who expect to pay in palm-leaf hats or otherwise than cash." A student diary of the same year speaks of seeing "some girls braiding coarse straw hats in the doors of the little red houselings."

1860 may be thought of as a turning point. David Mack had had

a hat factory at the center, but it had folded up. The year before, Hills had set up a mill at the Crossing for making shaker hoods. In 1860 his palm-leaf shop at the same location burned, and in 1863 his "mills" in Factory Hollow were wiped out by floods. When he rebuilt, it was along more ambitious lines and at the Crossing. His enterprise was successful, and at the time of his death in 1872 the L. M. Hills & Sons Co. was said to be the largest producer of palm-leaf hats in America.

After his death the sons sold the factory to H. D. Fearing Co., Amherst neighbors, and built another across the railroad tracks. Both factories prospered, but both were destroyed by fire in 1880. Both were rebuilt, and continued to prosper. Between them they sometimes employed nearly six hundred men and women, and because of them the Crossing became the busiest part of town. Stores appeared. With the railroad had come the Union Hotel. The two Hills residences lent social dignity and prestige. The First National Bank, of which Leonard D. Hills was president, erected a substantial "block." East Street yielded to the Crossing the distinction of rivaling the center; and as a sort of symbol of that capitulation the Hills families transferred their church affiliation from the Second parish to the First, partly, if not indeed largely, in consideration of the latter's building its new house of worship in their vicinity. In general, then, this would seem to have been the peak, in terms of both time and location, of the Amherst industrial era.

Of course hat-making at the Crossing extended well over into the current century. In 1910 the Hills company expanded their plant with a three-story addition to the south and a storehouse to the north. In 1914 they built a bleach house. They continued active until 1935, when the company was dissolved and the plant was dismantled. The original Hills business, which had become the H. D. Fearing Co., was purchased in 1892 by George B. Burnett & Son, a New York commission house. Thereafter the son, William A., and a grandson, G. Brinton, built attractive houses on Sunset Avenue and became influential residents. A capacious storehouse was added to their factory in 1913, but after the death of both George and William, Brinton put the plant on the market, in 1926, and after a series of sales and defaults, it was finally closed. This was in 1936. It must not be assumed that the Hills—Fearing—Burnett

hatmakers did not have financial downs as well as ups, but their century of production was a crowning achievement in industry.

The hamlet of Cushman, which had been known for many years as North Amherst City, is in a sense a memorial to the paper-making family of that name. They were not, however, the initiators. In 1794 Daniel Rowe purchased "½ acre and 1 rod" and the "right of flowing land above" about midway between Factory Hollow Pond and Bridge Street; and the following year he built a paper mill. In 1808 he sold it to Reuben and Ephraim Roberts, and it continued active in the Roberts family until 1894, thereby just missing an entire century of production. In 1848 they built another mill just a little to the west of this one, but it closed in the 1880's. The Cushmans entered the field in 1835, when Ephraim and John began operating "far up Mill River." But their factory burned in 1891, and after being rebuilt, burned again in 1902. Meanwhile, however, they had built their Red Mill not far from Bridge Street, and this one also carried over into the twentieth century. In 1863 they built a third, in Factory Hollow, but this one burned in 1873. They seem to have had nothing to do with a fourth, built in 1856 on Meadow Street; but this one burned two years later and hence has little significance. The Cushmans utilized steam for power, and, in 1866 at least, were furnishing paper for Horace Greeley's famous *New York Tribune*.

In 1912 there was a threefold revival of interest. B. F. Perkins rebuilt on the Red Mill site, but in 1927 moved to Holyoke. The United States Envelope and Sealing Co. purchased a location at Westville, but apparently never built. The Amherst Waxed Paper Mills Co. built in Cushman, only to sell, in 1917, to the Japanese Tissue Mills of Holyoke. The industrial drift was southerly over the Notch; but if Holyoke has become the "Paper City" of New England, there was a time when Amherst was, at least, a lively paper town.

The little community on Belchertown Road known as Kelloggville also took its name from a family in industry. About 1835 James Kellogg bought Eli Dickinson's faucet shop in Nuttingville, and started making bench and molders' planes. Soon he moved to Belchertown Road, where he erected two factories, one wooden and the other brick. He was succeeded by his son, William, and

the business continued to prosper, at times with a daily output of two hundred planes. But in 1886 the mill dam gave way, and operations ceased. Meanwhile, however, most of the twenty-odd employees had set up homes in the neighborhood of the mills. The neighborhood came to be known as Kelloggville.

Nuttingville took its nickname from the Nutting family, two of whom, Ebenezer and Porter, manufactured planes and other tools during the middle of the nineteenth century. Toolmaking, both wooden and metal, and woodwork of other kinds, although usually on a modest scale, was nonetheless always popular with Amherst industrialists. There was a Hills shop in the 1830's; and in East Amherst a Burnham one from 1841 until 1869, and Porter Dickinson's from 1835 to 1879. For a number of years the Burnham shop was given over largely to axe handles. Asahel Dwight, with various associates and in various locations, specialized in wooden pumps from 1863 until the end of the century. Dwight Graves's company was a firm making doors, sashes, and boxes, and, under various auspices, carried on in Factory Hollow for about the same period; finally the mill was bought by Louis Wheelock, and burned in 1940. S. E. Harrington maintained a wood-working shop on Meadow Street from 1866 until it burned in 1909. Levi Dickinson, after a few years at Eastman's Pond in North Amherst, built a planing mill at the Crossing, which continued, as the Angus Box Shop, until about the time of the first world war. These and various others, taken altogether, constitute a rather big industry.

Amos Avery has a clock dating from Colonial days and bearing this half-legendary identification; "Preserved Clapp, Amherst, *fecit*." Indeed the variety of things manufactured in Amherst is amazing: candle-wicking, brooms, artificial flowers, cigars, coffins, railroad frogs, canned goods, hoopskirts, lampblack, aluminum furniture, wrought ironware, pocket-lights, potash, rifles, shoes, silk, stoves, wire goods, tanning, fish rods, gas, electricity, tinware, sewing machines, gold pens. These and many more. And these, too, taken altogether, constitute a rather big industry.

If the verbs in this chapter have been almost invariably in past tenses, there is a reason. In recent years there has been but one notably productive firm—the Knickerbocker Leather and Novelty Co. Under various names and management and in various locations, it dates locally from 1902. In 1956, however, it was dismantled and

Amherst Water Power



Factory Hollow



Mill Valley

Amherst Hat Factories



The Hills Company's



The Burnett Company's

the plant was sold at auction. The Amherst Grain and Coal Co., the Elder-Jones Lumber Co., the monument factory of Thomas Dorsey, Hamilton Newell's printing shop, and two or three other business enterprises, are serving to keep the Crossing still an industrious, if not the industrial, center of town. But it is sort of a reminiscent shadow of vanished glory.

This, then, is the story of the rise and decline of industrialism in Amherst. Noah Webster, not thinking of oil, electricity, nuclear energy, or even steam, risked a forecast in 1820: Amherst, he said, "can neither be a shire town nor a commercial or manufacturing town . . . Its streams of water will never support great manufacturing establishments. Its inhabitants must be chiefly laboring farmers." Webster thought the location admirable for a college; he did not, however, anticipate more than one. At the other end of the century Historian Morehouse confirmed Webster's prediction. "Amherst," he wrote, "will never become a center of manufacturing industry . . . [It] must look for future greatness, if it is ever to become great, as a place for the summer resort of the wealthy and a residence town for those who have given up active business pursuits." Amherst has indeed proved attractive to people, particularly professional people, at leisure. But Morehouse, while accepting with good grace the second college of which Webster never dreamt, neither expected nor desired for his village a university. Thirty-five years later, when he saw such a contingency looming ominously in the eastern sky, he would sputter editorially, "Massachusetts needs a university about as much as a dog needs two tails."

No, Amherst was not to become a mill town. Or even a summer resort. Its destiny was academic. The town report of 1957 carries upon its front cover the caption, "Education—our Industry."

Via *Amherst*

THE Williams men who emigrated to Amherst in 1821 to participate in setting up a new college were influenced largely by the conviction that "Billville," as it is irreverentially called, was hopelessly isolated in the Berkshires. They presumably regarded the

railway as chimerical, and they did not even dream of a Hoosac Tunnel.

As a matter of fact, however, the railway made its appearance in the United States in the 1830's, and it was not long afterward that Amherst began to long for the rattle of iron wheels. In 1842 the Northampton & Springfield Railroad Corporation was authorized to build a line connecting the two cities and crossing the river at Hockanum. Thereupon representatives of nearby towns to the north met in Sweetser's Hall, in Amherst, and in 1845 they secured a charter to connect with the proposed road at Hockanum, and ultimately with another recently incorporated railroad, the Vermont & Massachusetts, at either Montague or Erving. The following month the Northampton & Springfield company, presumably anticipating a northerly extension of its own, requested and received permission to make its river crossing farther south, at Willimansett. The Amherst promoters and their associates were furious, but obtained a further grant to provide for the necessary extension of their own line.

Authorization, however, was only a prerequisite. The next step was to raise a building fund. Largely to advance this campaign there came into being a weekly newspaper, edited and printed in Amherst, called the *Hampshire & Franklin Express*. The sum required was \$425,000. Amherst people subscribed \$90,000. The venture failed. Meanwhile, across the river, the new company opened its line from Northampton to Springfield in 1845 and to Greenfield the following year. When the wind was right, the cheery steam whistle could be heard, albeit dimly, in Amherst.

We have a diary description written by one of the college boys telling of his trip from Newport, R. I., to Amherst in 1845. He traveled by boat to New York City, by Hudson River steamer to Albany, by ferry across the river, by railroad to Springfield and thence to Northampton, and finally to Amherst by stagecoach. It was an exciting journey, apparently his earliest experience with the railroad. "There is to me," he confided to his journal, "an idea of energy and strength of will connected with traveling by railroad. Instead of entering a carriage which may accommodate half a dozen and riding off leisurely . . . you are ushered into a long cage full of people, and with a puff from the engine and a shock, you are

off . . . as swift as an arrow . . . It harmonizes well with the spirit of the age."

Disappointed in their initial enterprise, our local crusaders tried again, with a rather comparable one incorporated as the Amherst Branch Railroad Co. But again the money was not forthcoming.

Then, in 1850, a railroad was built from New London to Palmer, and the Amherst indomitables surged out into the arena again. Their new project was to connect this road with the Vermont & Massachusetts, probably at Montague. And this time subscribers lent support to manifest destiny to the extent of the southern half of the route, and on May 3, 1853, the first wood-burning locomotive wheezed stertorously into town. Passengers from Palmer were as awesome as migrants from Mars. There was rapture among the local enthusiasts, and Edward Dickinson led the parade of exultation. Amherst was triumphantly on the map. Emily Dickinson wrote, "It seems like a fairy tale."

There were still financial complications, however, and it was because of them that the company had to reorganize, this time as the Amherst, Belchertown & Palmer Railroad. But by 1866 its tracks had crept to and into Brattleboro, and it was leased to the New London Northern Railroad, which later became successively, Central Vermont, Grand Trunk, and now a part of the Canadian National. In terms of its time this enterprise was not only ambitious but audacious, and the essential leadership was largely that of Amherst men: Edward Dickinson, Luke Sweetser, Charles and John S. Adams, John Ireland.

In 1870 promoters in the communities to be serviced secured authorization to connect Amherst with the Springfield-Greenfield line at Hatfield. This, however, immediately gave way to a much more promising project—a railroad from Northampton to Boston by way of Amherst. Again faith and money were prerequisite. In September 1870 Edward Dickinson proposed in town meeting that Amherst should subscribe \$100,000. His proposal failed to carry. But, in October, with the aid of Levi Stockbridge and others, he secured a reconsideration, and this time a commitment. "When the vote was officially declared the cheers were deafening." After various vicissitudes, both local and farther east, the Massachusetts Central was completed. The first Boston train to arrive in Amherst

was on December 12, 1887; the first Northampton train seven days later. It soon became a part of the Boston & Maine.

Those early trains were miraculous but primitive. They used to stop at Dwight to "wood up," as the saying went. A passenger who missed the train, back in the 1850's, overtook it by running across the Dickinson pasture. "The cars were wholly of wood, heated by stoves, and poorly lighted with kerosene lamps. The brakeman would go through the train with drinking water . . . in what looked like a large teakettle with two small glasses in sockets in front." The following tidbit of news seems almost cryptic now: "Owing to an accident at the City Monday evening, the boat train was late in reaching Amherst." The "City," of course, was Cushman, and the boat referred to, the one playing between New London and New York. At any rate Amherst people could now steam forth east or west or north or south. The town was even, in a sense, a junction. The technological age was noisily on its way.

But within the village people were still dependent on horses. The picturesque stagecoach was out. The last one, that from Northampton, still carrying mail, was taken off the road in January 1889, and is now enshrined in the Jones Library. Almost from its beginning Amherst had enjoyed transportation services as rendered by horses: courier, wagon, stagecoach. In 1767 Simeon Nash "began to drive his freight wagon to Boston and back once a week by the old Bay Path." Even earlier than that we had been on a non-passenger route between Boston and Deerfield. And it was not long before the arrival of a cumbersome coach-load of passengers and mail was an anticipated and colorful interruption of the day's routine. An advertisement in the *Worcester Spy* in 1824 described the Boston-Northampton service as follows: three trips a week, time of departure 3 A.M., that of arrival 8 P.M., "good carriages, horses, and harnesses are provided, the drivers are all interested in the company and believed to be faithful and accommodating; and the proprietors hope that by proper attention and fair and honorable treatment to passengers, to render themselves worthy of a share of public patronage." At Bartlett's Tavern there was a customary stop, to provide for the passengers a nip at the bar and for the horses a draught from Plum Brook. The roads, of course, were bad: snowy, dusty, or muddy. An Amherst man once asked the local driver

about the condition of the road to Northampton. "Capital," was the reply, "only two wet spots." Later the traveler complained that he had to plough through mud all the way. "That's what I told you: two wet spots—one from Amherst to the bridge, the other beyond."

Most of Amherst's residents owned a horse or two for personal use. Colonel Clark's, for example, were the pride of Main Street. But the students, naturally, did not. Thus Amherst supported an unusually large number of livery stables, during the latter half of the century always five or six. In 1900 there were ten blacksmiths in town. In 1872 William E. Stebbins' stable, of thirty-four horses, burned down in the Phoenix Row fire. In 1879 Stebbins was burned out again, along with most of Merchants Row. He rebuilt, however, adjacent to the Amherst House, and in 1883 sold out to Theodore L. Paige. The Paige livery, conducted by Theodore, his son Melrose, and always the genial "Bill" Casey, maintaining as many as sixty-five horses at one time, continued to serve townsmen and students until 1921. Amherst College alumni can still be persuaded to sing an immortalizing ditty:

*Paige's sleigh is in a snowbank,
Paige's sleigh is upside down,
And my head goes reeling, reeling,
As I stagger into town.*

Highways, even in the village, were often low ways. The stretch in front of the present Psi Upsilon house was notoriously a hazard of mud. No doubt the children loved it. The maintenance of highways and bridges has been from district days a major item in budget agenda. In 1859 there were 205 bridges and culverts, twenty-five of them between ten and sixty feet long, seventy-two of them made of stone. In 1866 the selectmen appointed a highway superintendent with two assistants. There were at that time about sixty miles of highway in the town, in 1878 about seventy-five. In 1876, as a result of strong urging by President Seelye, paved sidewalks began to appear. In 1882 a section of Main Street was fortified to the extent of a twenty-inch surface of gravel and stone, and two years later the improvement was extended to the Central Vermont Cross-

ing. About the same time a concrete gutter was provided for Merchants Row.

The *Record* in 1895 published a plea for better roads because of the cyclists. Prof. W. C. Esty may not, as sometimes reported, have introduced the bicycle into Amherst, but, in 1887, he did import from England wheels for his two boys, and they took their earliest riding lessons in the long hallway of their aunt, Mrs. Edward Tuckerman. Certainly the bicycle offered the village a new and lively and fascinating means of locomotion. Everyone yearned, and many learned, to ride. The Nonotuck Cycle Club held races in Amherst's Hampshire Park. There were road races, too. And excursions. William Hyde recalls one up into Vermont on a Columbia "high wheel." Professor Richardson, in 1897, pedaled to Niagara Falls, and on a Sunday in June of that year more than fifty cyclists had dinner at the Amherst House. In Hadley there was a restaurant called Wheelman's Rest. The town by-laws as of 1953 still included thirteen regulations in respect to cycling, some of them more or less obsolete: "Persons operating bicycles upon a roadway shall not ride more than two abreast except on paths or parts of roadways set aside for the exclusive use of bicycles."

Then came the "horseless carriage." Martin D. Gold was the first Amherst resident to own one, "a queer looking little car made by the Grout Company of Orange." In 1909 the first automobile fatality occurred. In 1912 there were in town approximately a hundred cars. Raymond Dickinson was now delivering milk by truck, and Henry E. Paige built on South Prospect Street the first garage to provide service as well as storage and gas. In 1919 the Amherst College rooters, for the first time, followed their ball team to Williamstown in private cars and not by special train. As of 1957 there are about four thousand automobiles registered as of Amherst, and half as many more, the property of college students or their parents, in what may be termed academic residence. This adds up to a car for every voter, and one for nearly every other college student.

It was the automobile that led Amherst, in 1901, to begin macadamizing the streets, the earliest indulgence being Main Street as far as the Central Vermont Crossing. In 1907 asphalt was applied in front of Merchants Row. In 1941 traffic lights were installed at

Northampton Road. In 1949 the town prescribed parallel parking and the use of meters. In 1951 it limited Hallock and the two Prospect Streets to one-way traffic.

Amherst has had a financial as well as a utility interest in the Connecticut River bridges at Hadley. In 1807 progressive proprietors built a wooden toll bridge—a bridge which was rebuilt in 1817, and again in 1826, and extensively repaired in 1840, 1848, and 1859. In 1875 Hampshire County purchased it as a public service, Amherst being apportioned twelve per cent of the cost. The same year it also established as a free bridge the one at Sunderland, but Amherst was not financially involved in this. In 1879 the Hadley bridge was torn from its piers by cyclonic winds, and Amherst contributed \$4,000 toward repairs. Twice the bridge has been disjoined by wind, but once, in 1929, it was dislocated by an automobile. The collision took place at the Hadley end, “causing the lower chord of the truss at the end of the first panel of the bridge to buckle,” and taking the bridge out of service “for several weeks.” In 1939 the Calvin Coolidge Memorial Bridge was built.

It was in the 1890's that human beings began to travel by electricity. The Amherst Board of Trade initiated the installation of a trolley line, and in 1897 the strange new vehicles were careening from the center of town to North Amherst. The Amherst & Sunderland Street Railway Co., so-called, leased and electrified a pleasant bit of pasture east of the Mill River bridge on Montague Road as a place of recreation, and named it Riverside Park. Soon after, vaudeville entertainers were a major attraction. On the fourth of July of its first year, the conductors rang up 2377 fares, most of them those of pleasure seekers. Two days later there was a power failure, and two hundred people found themselves stranded at the amusement center. In 1900 the line was extended to Sunderland; in 1902 to the Notch and thus to Holyoke, and also to Orient Springs in West Pelham. The speed on the Holyoke run, thirty miles an hour, no less, was said to have caused uneasiness on the part of inexperienced riders. Still a local editorial, “Trolley Riding for Pleasure,” enumerated persuasively the rare delights of an electrical excursion in Pioneer Valley. The most profitable service, however, came to be not passengers but freight, Boston & Maine carloads of

onions, lumber, coal, and traprock being towed from or to the local depot on South Pleasant Street.

Meanwhile there was eager negotiation looking toward comparable accommodations to Northampton. In 1898 a firm called the Northampton & Amherst Co. petitioned Beacon Hill for a franchise to run a trolley line into Amherst by way of Northampton Road. Our local people, with investments in the Amherst & Sunderland line, preferred to have the junction at Mill Valley. And the bill died in committee. Then there was an effort to adapt the Hadley bridge to trolley traffic, the county to contribute \$15,000 thereto, but that also failed. In 1900 the Northampton & Amherst Street Railway Co. contracted to build an \$80,000 bridge of its own, and this bridge was opened for car service February 1, 1901. Our local newspaper reported: "There was no perceptible jar or vibration in crossing the bridge." There was still a good bit of delay and litigation before the company secured the privilege of extending its line from Northampton Road to the Amherst House. In 1904 the selectmen granted the trolleys the right to handle express. This, then, was the rise of electrical transportation in Amherst.

Its decline was almost as rapid. It began with the automobile and ended with the bus. The Sunderland service was discontinued in 1926, the West Pelham in 1930, the Holyoke in 1932. The Northampton company replaced its trolleys with busses, and little by little the telltale tracks have disappeared. Except for the Northampton line, intertown bus service has been sporadic. Interstate service, New York City to north of Boston, has been supplied by Trailways since 1946. It would seem that rubber is more enduring than iron.

Some of the readers of this book may well be a little baffled by a reference to street sprinkling. They never knew the dirt highways and byways of our village, nor the flocks of English sparrows which battened thereon, nor the uplifting clouds of dust. Particularly the dust. To lay the dust in summer, and incidentally to create at least an illusion of coolness, the merchants in 1891 established the Amherst Street Sprinkling Association, membership dues \$1.00. The sprinkler was an itinerant tank from the rear of which would emerge a shower of water with a spread of several feet. Barefoot children delighted in running through it. It was really a refreshing

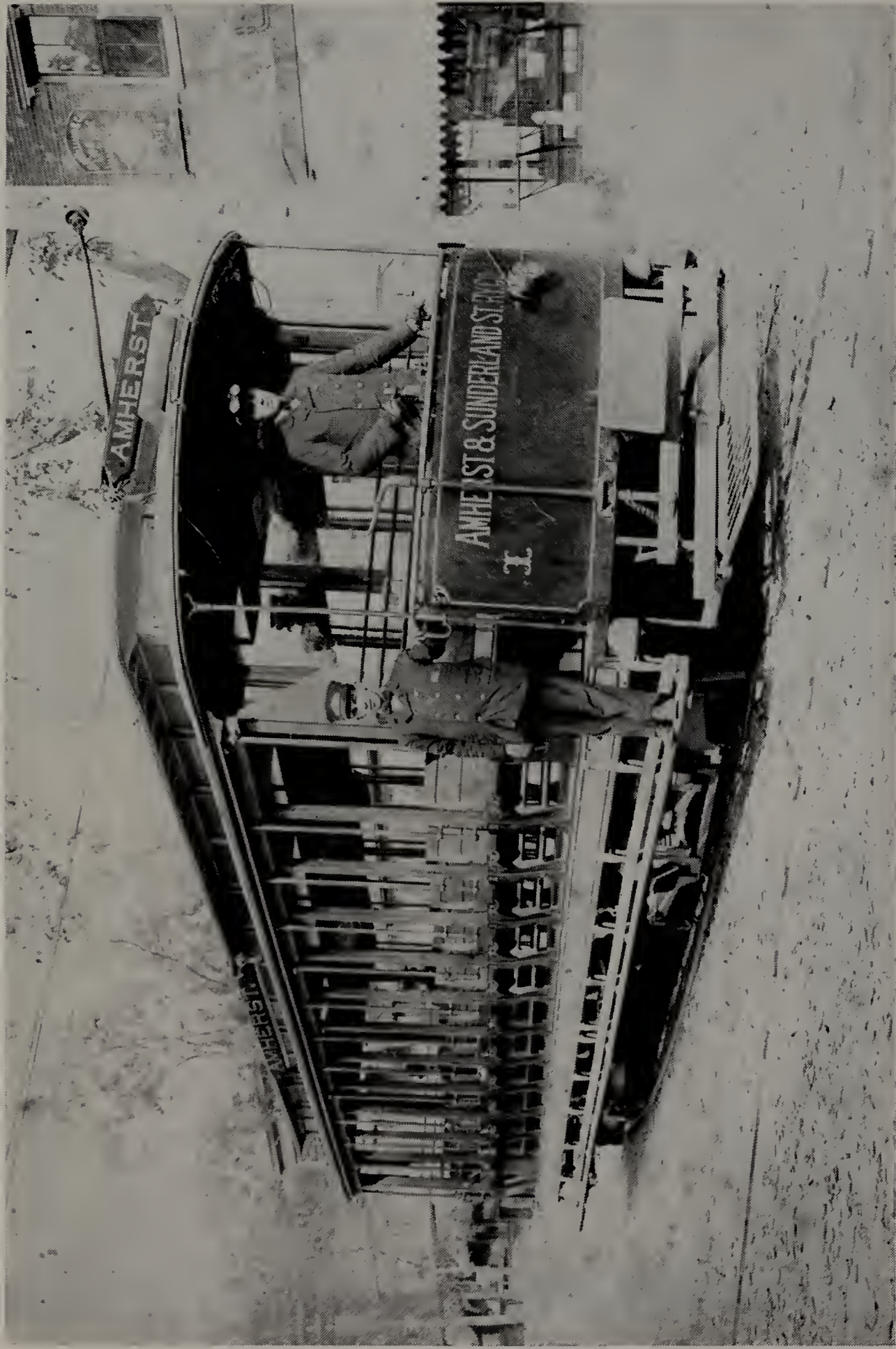
Mid-nineteenth Century Hotels



Amherst House



Hygeian Hotel



A 1908 Trolley Car
(Motorman—Abbe Duval; Conductor—F. F. Guyott)

sight on a sweltering July day. In 1895 the town voted, in accordance with recent permissive legislation by the General Court, that abutters to the midtown streets, as the principal beneficiaries, might be assessed for sprinkling service.

For well over a century there were no street lamps in Amherst except as a citizen might maintain one in front of his house. And when such a lover of light ventured forth into the darkness of the village, he presumably, like the London link-boys, carried a lantern. In 1870 Edward Dickinson, William S. Clark, Henry Hills and one or two others acquired a charter as the Amherst Gas Light Co. But the time was not yet. In 1873 the town illumined its streets to the extent of ten kerosene lamps. There was said to be one privately supported gas light at East Street. Then another effort was made to incorporate community gas. This time it was called the Amherst Gas Co., and Henry Hills was president. It built an oil-conversion plant on College Street, and on November 1, 1877, gas for the first time entered the Amherst mains, and the hat factories were brilliantly lighted therewith in rapturous celebration. Some of the homes followed suit. In 1910 the plant was moved to Pelham Road and utilized coal. In 1911 it passed out from local control.

In 1884 the town began lighting its streets by means of gas lamps, and by 1889 there were forty-two of them. But in 1889 a new kind of light was in the making—electricity. Indeed there were in Amherst that pregnant year no less than three companies, all of them franchised to produce and market the strange new power. There are still in Amherst men and women who recall vividly and somewhat poignantly the awe with which they first watched this mysterious and miraculous force illumine a carbon filament. And from Mount Pleasant one could see at night a faint glow above Northampton in the western sky. It was the Amherst Gas Company, with a plant originally on Gaylord Street, which prevailed, and contracted to furnish the town with fifty incandescent street lights, to which were added a number of arc lights in 1893. This, then, was the beginning, locally, of a new era of technical convenience, almost, as it were, a new way of life.

In 1934, the gas mains being in need of very costly repairs, the company discontinued gas service altogether, and in doing so replaced, gratuitously, 890 kitchen gas ranges with electric stoves.

In the early 1930's the company consolidated with the Western Massachusetts Electric Co., which, in 1947, was serving forty-five cities and towns, and which, in 1942, took over the State College plant, previously for forty years an independent unit.

Less romantic was the matter of sewage disposal. No poet was ever sufficiently nostalgic to write verses about the family cesspool. But with running water available at last, our forward-minded town fathers tackled the sewage problem with determination. Indeed, in 1881, there was installed, at the expense of those residents thereby advantaged, a modest system, with a main line from near the Baptist Church, thence easterly to a point beyond the Central Vermont Railroad tracks, and with branches joining it from Main and College Streets. Two years later property owners on Amity Street and some on North Pleasant provided comparable accommodations. Soon the outlets became a nuisance, however, and the town had to assume responsibility. Thus, in 1891, it voted to carry the original system, now somewhat enlarged, and another to serve residents south of Amity Street, on to the Fort River region, where a settling plant was established to dispose of solid matter. The sewage disposal service is an expensive and constantly expanding one, with nothing much for the voters to look at; but few readers would be interested in the steps of its development. Suffice to say that in 1913 it was connected with the Connecticut River, in 1938 a pumping station and disposal plant were built, in 1946 the system was extended to North Amherst. In 1955 nearly four million gallons of sewage, public and private, went through the works. Incidentally, garbage collection by the town, but at the expense of those making use of it, dates from 1914.

Thus down through the years the town has devoted annually more thought and money to its streets: hard-surfacing and re-hard-surfacing, removing the snow (since 1924), caring for the trees, extending the sidewalks, controlling traffic, guarding against unsightly billboards, providing directive and sometimes historic signs for visitors. For years people entering town by way of Northampton Road were regaled by an official but almost jocose series: "Entering Amherst," "Entering Hadley," "Entering Amherst"—all within a hundred yards. That would seem to have been a tribute to the personal considerateness of the Great and General Court of

Massachusetts, which, in 1811, to satisfy a Hadley citizen's whim, passed a law concluding, "the said Elias Smith and his family shall hereafter be considered of the town of Amherst."

Intertown transportation implies hotel accommodations.

The early inns were not so much lodging places as drinking places. They were called ordinaries after the manner in England, and thus suggested to the uninitiated not so much liquor as food. They had to be licensed, and the earliest reference to this in the Hadley records is a renewal permit in 1668. The Amherst inns, then, were licensed houses from the beginning. Their number, however, indicates that a license was not difficult to obtain, and that the proprietor was more interested in his bar than his beds. The inns were gathering places for congenial and convivial groups, transient or, more frequently, resident.

The earliest innkeepers were Kelloggs: Ebenezer 1734-1737, and 1752-1757; and Ephraim 1744-1756. Moses Smith maintained an inn on Bay Road 1758-1766, Alexander Smith on West Street 1758-1783, and Moses Warner near the Hartling Stake 1757-1771.

Of the numerous Amherst inns the Warner Tavern lends itself most rewardingly to historic record. At the time it was being run by Moses Warner it was owned by the elder Rev. David Parsons. Later it was operated by Gideon, the minister's son, who, in 1781, inherited the property. He was succeeded by Joel Dickinson, who, in 1804, gave way to the first of the Boltwoods. The second of these, Elijah, maintained it as the Boltwood Tavern from 1806 to 1838. He was a public-spirited citizen, whose name has come down to us as sponsor of many civic enterprises. The Parsons inn had been a one-story building with a gambrel roof, but the one which Boltwood took over was two-story, painted yellow, located some distance back from the streets, with a barroom in front and a ballroom upstairs. About 1820 he replaced this with a three-story building of brick.

Boltwood's successor, Harvey Rockwood, enlarged the structure and called it the Amherst House. He was followed, in 1845, by Albin Howe, in 1867 by Francis Kingman, in 1872 or thereabouts by I. F. Conkey and E. F. Cook, who operated it with landlords until it burned in 1879. Edward Conkey purchased the site and rebuilt, this time with four stories. He conducted it himself for seven years,

thereafter leasing it to others; but his family continued to own it until it closed in 1917. Thus in terms of continuity and location this has been Amherst's outstanding hostelry.

There have been many others. In 1800 there were five and there have seldom been less. Some of them certainly deserve the courtesy of specific reference. For example, the Noah Webster house on Phoenix Row functioned as the Mansion House until it burned in 1838. It was followed, just to the east, by the Hygeian Hotel, later the American House, 1851–1868. The Union House, built at the Central Vermont Crossing in 1853, became Sisson's Hotel and persisted until 1937. A modest hostel opened on the site of the First National Bank in 1877, and in 1892 became an annex to the Amherst House. Baggs Tavern at East Street (circa 1800–1865) is still an architectural monument. In North Amherst in the early 1800's there were two well-known Dickinsons: Land'od Oliver and Squire Chester. And in stagecoach days there were on Bay Road the Bridgman Tavern, James Cook's American House, perhaps better known as Bartlett's Tavern, and one or two others.

After the Amherst House closed in 1917, Amherst had really only two lodging houses, one on Amity Street, predominantly associated with Mrs. Egbert E. Perry, and one on North Pleasant Street, predominantly associated with Mrs. William H. Davenport. The village needed, desperately, a new hotel. And Amherst College built it—the Lord Jeffery Inn. At least ninety per cent of the stock, which to date has never paid a dividend, was taken up by Amherst alumni; Ernest Whitcomb, class of 1904, was the moving spirit; the college took a \$100,000 mortgage at 5% and later 3; many of the decorative colonial features were gifts from alumni; and the college itself has come to be, by virtue of gifts and bequests, the largest stockholder. At the time the college acquired the present site it also purchased Mount Doma, but the location on the common happily prevailed. Architect Cox successfully suggested a rambling English hostelry of uncertain age. The inn opened its hospitable doors at commencement time in 1926; and for the first time since Conkey rebuilt the Amherst House, town and gown took pride in their hotel accommodations.

As of 1957 there are no motels and very few tourist homes. But

many residents have rooms which they make available for students and weekend guests.

It is interesting to speculate whether any patron of the Lord Jeffery ever came into town by railroad. As busses, trucks, and private cars have multiplied, as the crooked highways have been made straight and the rough places plain, as perpetual movement and acceleration have come to be more and more the American habit, the railroads everywhere have retrenched and the lesser lines have all but disappeared. Thus the Central Vermont closed its Cushman station in 1929 and the Amherst one in 1947. There are still, however, five freight trains passing over its tracks each day. The Boston & Maine discontinued passenger service in 1932; but it also continues to handle freight to the extent of a daily round-trip to Wheelwright. But 1956 brought an end to Amherst's railway express.

From horseback to stagecoach, to railroad, to trolley, to automobile—and now to airplane. In 1919 President Butterfield and Selectman Cady Elder were treated to an official sightseeing flight over Amherst. Army planes of all impressive calibers have for years taken off from Westover Field in Chicopee for all parts of the world. Civilian passengers can get into the air at Westfield, but more effectively at Bradley Field in Hartford. James Stewart commutes by private plane from Harkness Road. And Kellogg's Tavern with its candles and toddy and rum has given place to the Lord Jeffery with its cocktail lounge. Truly times change, and customs—but not the people, at least not much.

Channels of Communication

WHEN Mettawampe had occasion to communicate to red men somewhat removed, he relied upon a trusty messenger, or perhaps upon a signal fire on the rocky summit of Norwottuck, or if it was not so much a matter of distance as of secretiveness, upon a code of bird calls. And the earliest settlers were not much better off. At least they, too, were dependent upon couriers. Indeed as late as 1859 the news of that famous Amherst victory over Williams, the

first intercollegiate baseball game ever played, was brought breathlessly from Pittsfield by word of mouth. And in 1871 the news of a M.A.C. regatta victory over Harvard and Brown came from the clarion voice of Colonel Clark as he guided his galloping bays exultantly into town. By somewhat the same token, the local weekly, when publishing items from Europe, would indicate the ship on which they had crossed the Atlantic.

Amherst still treasures the conch shell, the “kunk,” which was at one time used in the village to assemble the people for purposes of worship or deliberation. This was, of course, ultimately superseded by the church bell. With metallic eloquence it spoke a various language. It issued periodic summons, peremptory or engaging as the occasion suggested. Its tolling was both elegiac and informative, personalizing the late-departed by indicating the number of his years of grace. It was the church bell that Edward Dickinson used to arouse his neighbors to come out and witness an unusually spectacular aurora borealis. The alarm bell could be both strident and terrifying, and presumably meant a fire. The curfew was intended to be soporific.

If Amherst ever depended upon a town crier, he seems to have disappeared in the mists of memory.

In a description of the first cattle show in 1850 we read that “booming of artillery announced the advent of the farmers’ holiday.” In general, cannon were used to communicate jubilation. Julius Seelye’s election to Congress was celebrated by a procession to his house “amidst the booming of cannon.” To some degree this practice was suggested and made possible by virtue of the field-piece that Ebenezer Mattoon brought back from Saratoga. Finally, however, the College boys and those from East Street became involved in violent rivalry over the trophy, and, in 1832, the former so successfully buried it in the neighborhood of the Central Vermont Crossing that it has never been disinterred. After the Agricultural College came to town with an artillery unit, its battery became available for purposes of demonstration. In fact the “Aggies” on one occasion cooperated to the extent of lugging a cannon across the town to help the Amherst College boys rejoice in a baseball victory over Yale.

Sometime before 1870 the Hills hat factory installed a steam

whistle to remind its employees of the arrival of another productive day. Now, in 1957, we have the fire department's siren.

In 1789 there were seventy-five post offices in the United States, and Amherst got one in 1806. It was first housed on East Street, then bidding fair to become the community center—in the home of James Watson. Three years later it was moved into that of a new postmaster, Rufus Kellogg, just across the way. The curious mis-sives came in once a week from Boston, and presumably from the south, by stagecoach or saddlebag, and were officially tucked into strips of tape in the Kellogg hallway, there to be claimed by fortunate recipients. Obviously Mr. Kellogg did not confine his activities to postmastership. In 1821, responsive to a shift in business, the office was moved westward into the center of town. There were three deliveries a week now, but not yet stamps. The rate to Boston was 12½ cents, to New York 18¾. But the way was, little by little, being prepared for the epistolary Emily Dickinson.

At the center the office was located variously in Phoenix and Merchant Rows. Hezekiah Strong, postmaster from 1825 until 1842, attached an annex to his own residence, and thus provided both dignity and convenience. Thereafter, for nearly half a century, it faced the common from the west. Then it resumed operations on Main Street, across from the town hall, and it was from this location that it moved, in 1926, into the commodious brick structure erected by the Federal Government on North Pleasant. Meanwhile substations were created: in North Amherst in 1834, in South Amherst in 1841. During the industrially prospective 1860's, the former of these was located in "the City," now coming to be known as Cushman. But it soon returned to the west end, where, in 1954, a new building was erected for it in what had once been Riverside Park. Mrs. Edith Hardendorff recalls waiting for the North Amherst postmaster to read the postal cards, and then having him say, "Run home, Edith, and tell your mother that your Uncle Ted and Aunt Mary will be here for dinner to-day." Cushman re-secured an office in 1897. The South Amherst office, after having been variously moved about, was discontinued in 1933.

From-house-to-house delivery began in 1896. One of the earliest of the carriers was Horace Wolcott, who retired in 1937, having served for forty years. His routes ranged from twelve to twenty

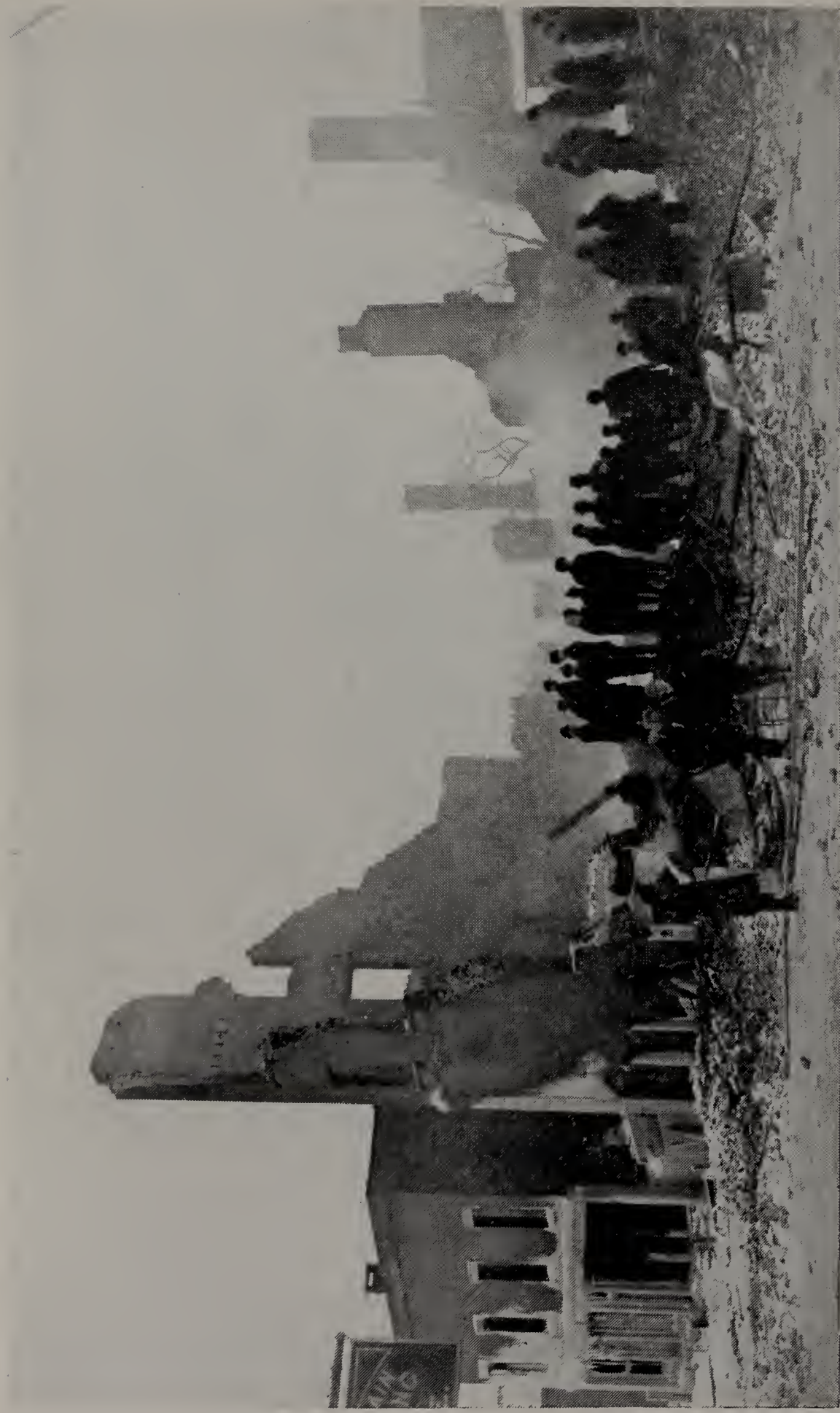
miles a day. That would mean that, all in all, he trudged over two hundred thousand miles with a bagful of messages, checks, and bills. The Rural Free Delivery came in 1903. Parcel post in 1913. Air mail in 1918. Postmaster Cramer completed a twenty-three year tenure in 1957, the longest on record; his office reported 379,916 pieces of outgoing mail during the pre-Christmas fortnight, a far cry from the weekly handful of letters in the time of Rufus Kellogg.

The next new medium of communication, in point of time, was the telegraph. That came into Amherst in 1861 as the American Telegraph Co. The following year Emily Dickinson was referring to "Fate's telegram" in a poem. In 1877 the Atlantic, Pacific & Franklin Telegraph Co. established headquarters at the post office, but later that year abandoned the field to Western Union in Gunn's Hotel. In 1893 the Postal Telegraph Co. came into Amherst and continued until 1926, at which time its office was destroyed in the Amherst Block fire. The local Western Union office closed in 1954.

In 1878 there was an item in the *Record* describing as "a failure" an attempt "to receive messages from Springfield at the telegraph office here, through the telephone." This was preface to the next chapter in communication. Four years later the Bay State Telephone Co. installed four instruments in Amherst: at the depot, the Amherst House, and the stores of William Hastings and Charles Deuel, the last, at the drugstore, being made available to the general public. But this also proved to be prefatory. In 1885 we read: "The telephone has had to go because the company increased the rates . . . There is now but one connection with Northampton in Amherst and our people are obliged to do their telephoning at F. H. Howes' store." A few weeks later the Howes instrument was also recalled. Ten years passed silently into history, and then, in 1895, the New England Telephone and Telegraph Co. tried it again. Amherst signed a contract for service during the day and evening, but, as reported in the local paper, "as soon as the electric lights are in operation, communication by telephone is a practical impossibility." This time it was the patrons, fifteen of them, who removed their telephones, and the town, in 1896, granted a franchise to the Northfield Telephone Co. There were now two companies



The Merchants Row Fire, 1879



The Palmer Block Fire, 1888

doing business in Amherst, and, incidentally, "all the residence sections of the center village" were "doubly lined with poles." By the end of that year there were sixty-four instruments in town, nine of them in homes. But two years later the Northfield company capitulated, and sold out to Tel & Tel.

As telephonic conversation became as familiar as other forms of speech, both colleges introduced a dial system with a campus exchange, and in 1956 the entire town was rewired for dialing, thereby releasing thirty-eight operators; and its service was incorporated with that of Northampton. In 1955 the village of Amherst maintained 3195 instruments, about one for every three inhabitants—man, woman, or child. To these should be added 541 at the University and 275 at the College. When Dean William L. Machmer, confined to his bed by illness, received *in absentia* an honorary degree from the University, he listened to the entire exercise over the telephone. On such an occasion or, conversely, when the wires are snarled up by hurricane winds, the reflective observer may recall Morse's memorable message about the telegraph: "What hath God wrought!"

And now, in 1958, we have even eliminated the wire. By 1920 everybody in Amherst had experienced the awesome sensation of a voice airing in from unbelievably distant parts. The radio became the latest and most insistent word in domestic luxury. Because of interference by surrounding hills, Amherst had to wait a bit for television. The first set appeared in 1948, in the Main Street service station of William G. Patterson. But soon there were aereals everywhere, sometimes two or three on a single roof. Radio and television have come to be the major channels by which intelligence of a public nature comes into town. Distinguished, and undistinguished, spokesmen—reporters, commentators, educators, entertainers, advertisers—all are constantly seeking, and finding, a listening village. And, in modest measure, Amherst has contributed the spokesmen, for, as of 1956, there were actually three local studios broadcasting periodically within, and largely throughout, the community: W A M F from Amherst College, W M U A from the University, and a substation of Northampton's W H M P from the moving picture house. Oldsters who thrilled to the crude tele-

phones in the 1880's now murmur with tremulous cadence, "What next?"

Man's inventiveness in the extension of intercourse is itself a miracle. And yet the vital question remains not how do we communicate but what do we say. Civilization is not so simple as technology.

Fire and Water

FIRE, a friend of man but sometimes his foe, dates in Amherst from the wigwams of Norwottuck. The settlers inherited both the comforts and the risk. New England winters may be cruel, and the Aprils are more blustery than benign. Even in sultry August the colonial housewife fortified her menfolk with hot dishes, usually three times a day. Candles, and later kerosene lamps, gave forth a dim and flickering light. The great fireplaces were a source of sporadic heat, and the normal household would consume from thirty to fifty cords of wood a year. It was said of Amherst College boys in the 1870's: "Hot bricks are in common use during cold weather as bedfellows." Even after the turn of the century Agricultural College boys were still tugging scuttles of coal to third-story rooms. It was fire that made life endurable, sometimes enjoyable, until, taking advantage of a moment of human carelessness, it flamed forth on a rampage. Historian Morehouse gave as his considered opinion that "few towns . . . have suffered so severely as has this town from the ravages of fire."

Modernity in terms of fire protection dates from 1880. The reader cannot but have been impressed in the chapter "The Industrial Era" by the number of losses from fire, particularly among the little factories along Mill River. It is not surprising that their origin was often suspect. In 1851 the Sprague & Perkins wheelwright shop near Mount Pleasant burned. "The fire was evidently the work of design, the roads in all directions being barricaded . . . and in one instance a small bridge was removed." Morehouse says; "During the year 1876 there were ten fires in Amherst, six of them supposedly of incendiary origin." But no suspi-

cion was attached to the burning of Amherst College's north dormitory, in 1857, at the height of a paralyzing snowstorm, with drifts four feet in height and the thermometer close to zero. Phoenix Row suffered disastrous fires, particularly in 1838 and 1872. Merchants Row was virtually wiped out in 1879; and both the Hills and the Fearing hat factories were destroyed in 1880.

Meanwhile Amherst had been making primitive and rather pathetic gestures toward fire protection. In the town records of 1814 there is mention of "engine men." In 1827 S. C. Carter organized a fire company and was its chief for many years. But its performance at a Mount Pleasant Institute fire that year inspired the following caustic comment in the *Inquirer*: "The present engine . . . is fit for nothing else than to sprinkle the boys and be gazed at by those who consider an engine a rare curiosity." The following year the town elected "firewards." In 1839 a new engine was procured, and became the pride of Cataract Engine Co. #1, the older equipment having been relegated to Mill Valley as Deluge Engine Co. #2. In 1846 the Lafayette Hook and Ladder Co. #1 was added to the service.

These companies with their picturesque names did not overlook the amenities. The Lafayette Hook and Ladder, for example, had an officer whose duties as described in the constitution and by-laws were as follows: "It shall be the duty of the commissary general, when directed by the commanding officer, to provide all necessary refreshments, upon the alarm of fire to repair immediately to the scene of conflagration, pay his respects to the commanding officer, and learn from said officer what *specific* refreshments will be needed by the company, and see that they are furnished at the proper time and in a proper and palatable manner; in the selection of refreshments it shall be the duty of the commanding officer and the commissary general to see that they are such as will give firmness and stability to the nerves, power and activity to the muscles, and energy to the whole body; in short that they are such as will arouse within the 'inner man' that bold and fearless *spirit* which so peculiarly marked the distinguished individual whose name we proudly bear."

This company used to meet in the Amherst House, and, being urbane as well as rhetorical, it imposed a fine of twelve and one-

half cents upon any Lafayette fireward who was observed to be spitting on the floor. The other two companies had a dinner in 1847 which was thus reported in the *Express*: "So large a body of young men, united in so noble a cause, is able to wield an important influence . . . The literary character of the occasion deserves great credit." At another time the firemen marched to a party at L. Dickinson Cowles' in a torchlight procession. At this time the Cataract company had a service enrollment of forty-five men, the Deluge company twenty-eight, the Lafayette twenty-two—public-spirited men whose only compensation was the remission of their poll taxes. In 1861 the Scott Hook and Ladder Co. #2 was established in North Amherst.

In 1852 Amherst acquired an engine which could throw two streams of water and carried seven hundred feet of hose. Eight years later she provided a new fire house, which led the local newspaper to chant that now "with a good engine, a good company, and a good supply of water we may bid defiance to the devouring element." Actually the only sources of this "good supply of water" were nearby streams or wells; the likelihood of a convenient stream was naturally not very great and the house owner's well might very possibly be within the burning building. In 1872 the "devouring element" got loose in the rear of Phoenix Row. Henry Holland, one of the merchants whose stores were threatened, owned a newfangled fire extinguisher. So did the town. There was also that ambidextrous 1852 engine. But it was "a line of bucket-men . . . passing water from the pump on the common" that saved the stores. During the 1870's both the town and some private individuals began building emergency reservoirs, holding up to five thousand gallons of water. In 1874 there were eleven of these: three on the common, two on Amity Street, three on Pleasant Street, one south of Amherst College, one on High Street, and one at East Amherst. And the firemen's compensation was raised to ten dollars a year.

But it was the Merchants Row fire of 1879, followed almost at once by the burning of the hat factories in 1880, that shocked the town fathers into action. Back in 1870 they had flirted a little with the idea of running water, but not to the point of investing any money in it. Now it began to seem to be the one and only safe-

guard against extermination. A few South Amherst families formed the Nuttingville Aquaduct Co. and supplied their households with water which came down from the Norwottuck foothills in wooden, and later leaden, conduits. Walter D. Cows initiated something comparable in North Amherst.

But it was the portentous fire of 1879 that dramatized our human helplessness. Amherst needed more water and more power. The sight of a threatened citizenry frantically trying to save the nearby buildings with buckets of water and handpumps must have been appalling. Charles Fay rode on horseback to Northampton for help; he said that he did it in seventeen minutes. The Northampton company responded with its up-to-the-minute equipment, too late to have much effect upon the fire; but it did demonstrate "how much easier it was to pump water by steam than by hand."

So the men of Amherst reopened the question of running water. Three proposals were considered: an artesian well, Fort River, and a reservoir, presumably on the Pelham heights. It was the last of these that prevailed, but as a private, not a community, enterprise. Thus it was that the Amherst Water Co. was brought into being. The mains were fabricated, from iron plates and cement, here in town. Amethyst Brook, in Pelham, was dammed into a reservoir. And on May 1, 1880, the first flow of water checked in at the Amherst House.

The Amherst Water Co., with \$40,000 capital investment, was duly chartered, its first president being William S. Clark. To provide fire protection, the town installed thirty hydrants and contracted to pay the company \$1,000 a year for water. But the do-it-yourself construction did not prove to be very durable. Almost immediately lightning struck the main at West Pelham, damaging it for nearly a mile and necessitating a two-month interruption for repairs. During the next three years there were two more major fire losses: Walker Hall at Amherst College and Cook's block on Main Street. Moreover the routine service continued erratic; an item in the local paper reads: "Pelham water was on all day yesterday." Dissatisfaction led to the establishment of a rival company, the Amherst Spring Water Co., which tapped another Pelham supply and piped it into George Cutler's block on Merchants Row, serving some sixty families en route. After five years, however, this

company was incorporated into the other one. During the drought years of 1892 and 1893 the flow began to weaken; some householders put storage tanks into their attics, and the Company added a reserve unit upstream in Pelham.

Thus it was that under the dire threat of destruction by fire, Amherst provided her villagers, after a fashion, with the conveniences of running water.

The fire fighters meanwhile, quite naturally, were improving their technique. In 1887 they acquired Babcock extinguishers for North Amherst and Cushman, which were beyond the reach of town water. The next year they equipped the engine house with an electric bell. This was the year of the great blizzard, and it was while the storm was at its height that Amherst lost, by fire, the three buildings on what later became the town hall corner. The fire exploded at three A.M. The engine house was buried in drifts but the men managed to drag a couple of hoses into action and save the Grace Church rectory. Meanwhile two walls of Palmer's Block had thunderously collapsed and the Dr. Charles Hall family living next door barely escaped with their lives. Indeed in doing so they became separated, the father and one girl taking refuge in the Amherst House and the others at John H. Leland's; and for hours neither parent knew whether the other had been spared. Thus for the second time the elements of snow and fire conspired to wreak disaster.

In 1893 the hose cart and hook-and-ladder were adapted to horses, and Paige's livery stable contracted to furnish transportation at the sound of the bell. This also led to Melrose Paige's becoming fire chief. In 1895 an entire electric alarm system was installed.

The various crews, however, were largely volunteers directed by amateurs, and in the 1920's another series of fires highlighted their basic inadequacy. In 1926 the Amherst House block, then containing seven stores, fifteen apartments, and the Jones Library, was destroyed after it seemed that the fire had been localized and was under control. Much the same thing occurred in connection with the burning of Fred Kenney's house on Mount Pleasant. Within three months of the Amherst block fire, the Chase block just across Amity Street was destroyed. Presently the Burnett hat fac-

tory and the stately, surviving unit of the Mount Pleasant Institute went up in flames. There was another, the fifth, devastating fire in the neighborhood of Phoenix Row. One family, living in apartments, was burned out three times within a decade.

This concentration of disaster stirred the citizenry much as the loss of Merchants Row had done in 1879. The problem now was not water but equipment and personnel. Paige had two full-time men under his direction, but none of the three was a trained fireman. So, in 1928, Paige retired to make way for a professional—Thomas Martin. Martin had four permanent men and thirty-five subject to call; he also had three pieces of motor apparatus. But he reported the “fire station in a deplorable condition,” and the town appropriated \$50,000 for a new one. Martin, however, unexpectedly, died, and the new building was erected under the supervision of his successor, Herbert R. Ferris, and Melrose Paige. Ferris was made also inspector of buildings. The greater investment seemed to be paying off, for the number of serious fires was much reduced. But Ferris resigned in 1932 and his successor, William D. Yarter, in 1935.

Thereupon the selectmen appointed Harold E. Warner, who, in 1948, became the center of controversy and was asked to resign. The extent of his services to the community and of his disservices has never been fully ascertained; the extent of his term of employment, however, is a matter of record. Certainly during these thirteen years the station house became more and more a community center. The children’s Christmas parties, which had been taken over from the ladies of the village and the leadership of Mrs. Paige, became more attractive. In 1939 Warner certified 153 high school students who had completed his course in first aid, and his civilian classes were very popular throughout the war. He was “responsible for enforcing the building and zoning laws.” He was influential in the drive for a town ambulance. And he certainly enlarged, and presumably improved, his department. His inadequacies and offenses were considerately never made public beyond the fact that he became troublesome in financial procedures. The case is significant, historically, by virtue of the fact that after submitting a resignation under duress he undertook to withdraw it, and the case was tossed about in the courts for a couple of years before being finally

settled, in favor of the town, on the ground that a resignation is legally irrevocable.

As of 1957 the fire chief is George A. Cavanaugh; the staff includes fourteen full-time men and twenty-five others subject to call; the equipment includes: four pumpers, an aerial ladder purchased in conjunction with the colleges, a tanker, a service truck, the chief's car, the town ambulance, and, for purposes of sentimental exhibit, the 1852 engine and the 1888 bell. There were, in 1956, 214 fire calls and 353 ambulance calls, and an estimated property loss of only about \$7,700. The public have come to assume protection. Of course the captive fires in oil burners are less fraught with peril than were those in utility fireplaces of early days. Many of the escaping fires, outdoors or in, are doubtless due to careless smokers. But the threat of fire is always present, the fact of fire spectacular, and the need for a well-trained and well-equipped fire department imperative.

If recent developments in the fire department have led to the courts, those involving the water works have led to the ballot box. The service of the Amherst Water Co. was, of course, far from perfect, the company was enviously regarded as a closed and select corporation, and the rates, like all rates, seemed excessive. Local chemists, in 1903, reported pollution: "46,629 bacteria per cubic centimeter," the explicit number carrying conviction. The liberals had been saying for a number of years that the town, that is the people, should own the water works. As a result the town secured from Boston permission to buy them, but the excitement died down. In 1911, 1914, and 1916 the voters considered the matter of purchase, but in every instance deferred taking action, perhaps by virtue of the company's installing meters in 1914.

Thereupon the agitation again died down, this time for some fifteen years. But in 1930 the company placed \$100,000 of new capital stock upon the market, purchased Atkins Pond in Shutesbury, thereby increasing its holdings fourfold, and erected an emergency tank on Mount Pleasant. This public display of prosperity may have helped to reopen the whole question of management and ownership. An *ad hoc* committee reported pollution, inadequate fire protection, and inequitable rates. Thereupon there evolved one of the most striking examples of close disharmony in the history

of local government. In order to buy out the company the proponents had to secure a two-thirds vote of approval. For three successive years they introduced into the agenda an article to buy. In 1934 it failed to carry by three votes, in 1935 by two, and in 1936 again by two. This may indicate community caution or conservatism. It certainly emphasizes the importance of every citizen's ballot. If the two people who went to the polls in 1935 and turned in blanks on this question were really not out of sympathy with buying, they must have felt a little embarrassed when they read the returns.

In 1940 the citizens were confronted with the issue again. Its advocates seemed to be activated with almost religious zeal. There was another committee, and another recommendation to buy. And in 1941 the townsmen voted to do it—with a margin of only six votes. The totals were: yes 853, no 418, blanks 43. Thus if nine of the blanks, representing people unwilling to vote yes, had actually voted no, the measure would have again been lost. Seldom is a community so crucially at odds with itself for so long a time. But actually the opposition seem to have accepted the decision with relief; it was a settlement.

Acting as agent for the town Fred Hawley opened negotiations with the company, hoping to avoid the expense of a middleman. The company asked \$725,000; he offered \$550,000. They came together at \$600,000. And the elected representatives of Amherst, in town meeting assembled, appropriated the money without a dissenting vote. And, more than that, the opponents did not demand a referendum. Thus, after forty years of wavering and disputation, the town took over the water works.

By 1957, however, the selectmen were making a search, an almost frantic search, for other sources of supply. Neighbor villages, formerly so compliant and cooperative in selling us water rights, were now wary of prospectors with their technological equivalents of the hazel rod. Fortunately underground wellsprings of relief were found in all-but-no-man's land in Lawrence Swamp. It would seem that eventually either water must be piped into Amherst from Quabbin Reservoir or the Connecticut River, perhaps by the Commonwealth to serve its expanding university, or the citizens,

resident as well as transient, must somehow be made to relinquish their wasteful water ways.

Fire and water, water and fire—indispensables! No household or community can even exist without them. And no household or community can escape disaster whenever they get out-of-hand. Both have the mysterious power to delight and to appall. Both are fraught with the strange secrets of nature. Both, in one way or another, cost money. But, whatever the price, they are worth it.

Traders and Tradesmen

BEHIND the rather ostentatious title Amherst Chamber of Commerce are to be found two centuries of unostentatious but substantial business men. Their service has been to give to various goods an added value in terms of time and place, and for this service they have been entitled to a commission known as profit. Some of them have been regarded, at least by the teachers, as well-to-do, but none has been really wealthy. Indeed the record seems to indicate that it has never been wealth which they were seeking; rather, at least to a considerable degree, the satisfaction of influence and the prestige of shrewd dealing. There has never been a display of opulence in Amherst.

As a mart Amherst has been unique among villages. In order to highlight its anomaly, let us observe, rather leisurely, four of her traders in action.

The first episode took place in the Grange Store, its name due to the fact that it was set up by the local Grange in 1877 as a cooperative, although later for over fifty years it was privately maintained by Mason A. Dickinson and his sons. Even after the transfer in 1889, the old Grange tradition persisted, and one time cooperators, for example Levi Stockbridge, would always punctuate a purchase by helping themselves to a sliver of cheese or a handful of fine-cut tobacco. On the day of our episode a highly successful author, Ray Stannard Baker, came in to market some honey, surplus product of his bees on Sunset Avenue. "Pure Honey—David Grayson—Amherst"; so the labels read. Thereupon Messrs Dickinson and Baker

enacted the ritual of bargaining. "When I had just about reached the point of feeling that I might have to *give* the merchant my honey," the author has told us, "he suddenly made a price . . . that was considerably less than I had hoped but more than I had begun to expect, and I closed with him on the spot . . . Later when I showed my 'financial statement', as I called it, to my Mentor, she looked at me with a kind of indulgent comprehension. 'You are utterly incorrigible,' she said."

In case these traders seem to have been engaged in something rather inconsequential, let us take a look at two others. The scene of their engagement was the First National Bank, presided over by Ernest Whitcomb, and having, incidentally, among its officers a man by the name of Edmund Elwell, who, as of 1957, had served the institution for sixty-five years. This time one of the traders was Walter Cowls. Walter Cowls had been born and was to die in a house built by his grandfather in North Amherst. He was, perhaps, primarily a lumberman; but he had been the moving spirit behind the Amherst Sunderland Street Railway, he had built at Hampton, N. H., what was reputed locally to be the longest wooden bridge in the world, and he had been a representative in the Great and General Court of Massachusetts. Walter Cowls was native stock.

The other trader was Stanley King. A brilliant product of Amherst College and Harvard Law School, he had, in his early forties, recently retired as Eastern Manager of the largest shoe company in the United States. Subsequently, as president of Amherst, he was to carry his alma mater through the depression of the 1930's without a scratch. At the time of our story he was a trustee, and as such had asked Whitcomb to open negotiations with Cowls for the purchase of certain land south of the campus. The manoeuvres, as he later recalled them, were characteristic not only of the two men, but of the anomaly mentioned above.

A few days later Whitcomb telephoned me in Boston to tell of his talk with Cowls. When he had broached the subject to Cowls, the latter had replied, "You aren't really interested in that land, Mr. Whitcomb. Stanley King wants it for the College. Tell him he will have to trade directly with me."

"Cowls wins the first point," I replied. "Ask him if he will

meet me Saturday morning next at your bank." Whitcomb arranged the conference, and on Saturday I drove to Amherst to meet for the first time one of the ablest traders I have ever met.

Whitcomb introduced us and placed the directors' room at our disposal. I faced a lanky man of well over six feet in height, with a weather-beaten face and a sad aspect. He was not loquacious, and he waited for me to open the conversation.

"Mr. Cowls," I began, "I am told that you are the shrewdest trader in western Massachusetts, that you have had long experience in buying and selling real estate, that you know every rule in the book, and that I must watch my step at every point and keep my hand on my pocketbook. They tell me that if you sit next to a man with whom you are trading, he does not know his leg has been broken till he tries to rise." Cowls smiled a wan smile and said, "I'm not as good as that." . . .

I continued . . . "I understand from the fact that you are here that you are interested in selling. If this is so, then there is only one question to negotiate and that is the price. . . . How many acres do you own in these lots and what is your price?"

Cowls wasted no words. He said he owned eighty acres and he named his price. I laughed. . . . Then I waited and at last he had to speak. "What's funny?" he said.

"I'm afraid you didn't understand me," I said. "I'm acting for the College. . . . You are not trading with a rich man from New York. . . . If you want to sell to the College, you must begin again."

We parted and agreed to meet again in two weeks. This began a series of conferences which lasted for a year. Whenever I was coming to Amherst on other matters, I would arrange to see him. We always met in the same place. Finally we were only two thousand dollars apart, and neither would budge. It looked like a stalemate.

We had a final meeting at the bank. "You are an obstinate man," I said. "I have enjoyed our meetings, but it looks to me like no trade. You and I are mortal. . . . Perhaps you would like to wait and let the College trade with your heirs."

Then I offered to match him.

"One toss or two out of three?" he said.

"Either you wish," I replied. . . .

"I never tossed for as much as two thousand dollars."

"Neither did I," I replied.

"What would the trustees of the College say?"

"If I win, they will say 'stout fellow.' If I lose they will say you had me."

He declined. I rose and said good-bye and we left the room together. He walked out of the bank and I stopped to speak to Whitcomb.

"Have you traded?" asked Whitcomb. I shook my head.

"Don't let him go," said Whitcomb. "You want the land."

"I don't want it at his price," I said. "Besides, he hasn't gone. He is still standing on the curbstone in front of the bank." Whitcomb returned to his desk, and I stood behind a pillar for ten minutes watching the tall figure on the sidewalk. Then he turned slowly and walked back into the bank. We returned to the directors' room and I waited for him to open the conversation.

"What would you do," said Cowls, "if I came down one thousand dollars?"

"I would buy," I replied. And we shook hands.

"There is one condition," said Cowls . . . "the price must be confidential. I am ashamed of selling this land so cheap."

"I am chagrined at paying so high a price," I replied; "no one but the treasurer and the trustees will know."

If these transactions were not entirely typical of Amherst, they are at least suggestive. Amherst has never been a marketplace. Always other interests have been given right of way. If we look back to 1800, some sixty years after the earliest settlement, we find almost no trace of stores and little of trade. An inventory soon after the Revolution indicates that Amherst had as "stock in trade" an estimated seventy-five pounds as compared with over seventeen times as much in Hadley. It is true that about this time Ephraim Kellogg was selling molasses, salt, rum, and the like; that Josiah Chauncey and Elisha Ingram were licensed to sell tea, coffee, chinaware. Solomon Boltwood, son of Solomon, and his son Ebe-

nezer are mentioned as “among the earliest merchants.” There was a Jacob McDaniel licensed for a couple of years in the 1780’s. But it would seem that as late as 1800 local mercantile activities were largely subsidiary to the maintenance of mills or taverns, were in large measure conducted on barter, were hardly commercial. Most of the necessities of life were still produced by the consumer himself. Years later Emily Dickinson accompanied her lawyer father when he went to the gristmill with a bag of garden grain.

One of the earliest stores really worthy of the name was that of Hezekiah Wright Strong, grandson of the Nehemiah who built what is now the Amherst Historical Society’s house. His date was close to 1815, his location northeast of the Hartling Stake and at the head of what was later to be known as Phoenix Row. Prior to this, Strong had operated stores of a sort with Leonard and Elijah Dwight, and there had been at the center others operated by Calvin Hamilton and Rufus Cows. By this time there were also opportunities to shop in the outlying districts. We have a few names: James Kellogg, Captain Dyer, Cotton Smith, John Hunt, Asahel Thayer, at East Street; Phillip Goss, in South Amherst; Emerson Marsh, in North Amherst. Misty names at best. Hardly more than legend.

The Strong store, however, is particularly significant to us in terms of its continuity. Luke Sweetser, having served an apprenticeship as clerk, purchased it in 1824. Twenty-four years later it became Sweetser & Cutler, the new partner, George Cutler, maintaining an interest until his death at the age of ninety-five. Meanwhile William Jackson replaced Sweetser, in 1884, and the firm became Jackson & Cutler. For many years it was operated by George Cutler, Jr., and Raymond Jackson, and thereafter, until 1953, by Raymond Jackson alone. For over a century it upheld the tradition of a New England general store, where if a customer asked for a collar, the clerk would solicitously inquire, “For a man or a horse?” But when the chain stores moved in with their irresistible self-service and lower prices, Jackson & Cutler abandoned its grocery department and became definitely dry goods. Incidentally its historical significance is heightened by the fact that young Samuel Minot Jones once clerked there, and it was largely due to the influence of the Cutlers that he wrote the Jones Library into his will.

In one form or another there have been comparable successions. The Mutual Plumbing & Heating Co. has rounded out a two-family century; it was first established in 1840; in 1856 it was taken over by W. W. Hunt; in 1897 by the Elders. There was another hardware store, on Phoenix Row, carried on by the Seneca Holland family from about 1835 until 1914. The firm Douglass-Marsh dates back to the Amherst Cabinet Warerooms in 1835, and the name Marsh to 1845, when Merrick M. Marsh became its proprietor. The Kendrick and later Harvey meat market closed its doors in 1950 after nearly a hundred years of operation by the two families. As of 1957 the Thompsons have been selling men's clothing since 1887, the "House of Walsh" since 1902, and for women the shop opened by Mary Beston in 1890 has since 1935 been conducted by her niece, Frances Powers. In 1933 Frank Plumb sold his barber shop after forty-five years of operation, and E. Y. Cosby has continued for half a century in the same profession. The Ernest Bolles family has conducted a shoe business for fifty-nine years. Often a store has maintained its identity and character through various changes of ownership and name. On the other hand, as in the case of the Adams drugstore, the name survives after eighty years although the proprietorship, in this case, has been for a long time that of Albert, and more recently Mrs. Albert, Bergeron. These examples of continuity, by no means inclusive, indicate a certain small-town stability, and explain in part what may be called merchant morale.

By 1850 the physical pattern at the center was pretty well set. Phoenix Row, presumably so named, perhaps by Edward Hitchcock, because it had re-risen from the ashes of 1838, faced the common from the north. Merchants Row, overlooking the street designated, pretentiously and certainly not by Hitchcock, as Broadway, faced the common from the west. Palmer's Block, a sort of professional citadel, faced the common from the east. The common itself was still an uninviting marsh, awaiting the mind and hand of Austin Dickinson and the Village Improvement Society.

Specialization was now a common practice. Besides some of the what Hitchcock might have called emporia mentioned above, there were: a Kellogg shoestore, an Adams bookstore, a Spear stationery shop, a Fitch drugstore, a Harrington jewelry store, an insurance office, a photographic studio. The general stores, however, like

Deacon Mack's and particularly those in the outskirts of town, were still the most popular gathering places; it was in them that Jacksonian heresies were thoroughly aired, the efficacy of the hazel rod challenged and as staunchly defended. There was no bank in 1850. In the vernacular of the day there were "saloons": Fuller's "shaving saloon," where "warm, cold, and shower baths can be obtained at any hour of the day"; "ladies' ice cream saloons" with lady attendants. It was later reputed that Henry Adams was the one to christen the college ice. Both of the Rows, whether dusty, miry, or icy, provided a convenient array of hitching posts; but, from the small boy's point of view, there was always the fascinating possibility of a runaway horse.

The traders were becoming tradesmen.

Basically the picture in 1900 was not very different. But Phoenix Row had suffered bad fires in 1872 and again in 1883; Merchants Row was wiped out in 1879; and Palmer's Block in 1888. Thus the center of town had been rebuilt and modernized according to the taste of the period.

Business was beginning to spill over into North Pleasant Street. Julius Trott at this time was engaged in plumbing and heating. Besides the Grange Store and Sanderson & Thompson's, there were: Suprenant's market, a bakery, a harness shop, a tin shop, a shoestore, a tobacconist, two barbers, and farther north, the Clutia Marble Works.

Phoenix Row was recognizable by virtue of establishments already listed. But reference should be made to Morgan's drugstore which the William McGraths, father and son, were to take over in 1914 and maintain as the College Drugstore until, at least, 1957. And to the meat market of that loyal Democrat "in a strange land," John Mullen. Palmer's Block had been replaced by the town hall, and was flanked by small shops, including two Chinese laundries, one of them said to be run, contraband, so to speak, because of immigration restrictions, by a woman disguised as a man.

Merchants Row enjoyed a certain social preeminence because of its banks. A bank is at least a symbol of prosperity. In 1831 a six-year-old Sunderland bank had moved into Amherst, but subsequently there was malappropriation of funds by a cashier, and in 1842 the bank surrendered its charter. Three or four years later

Merchants Row

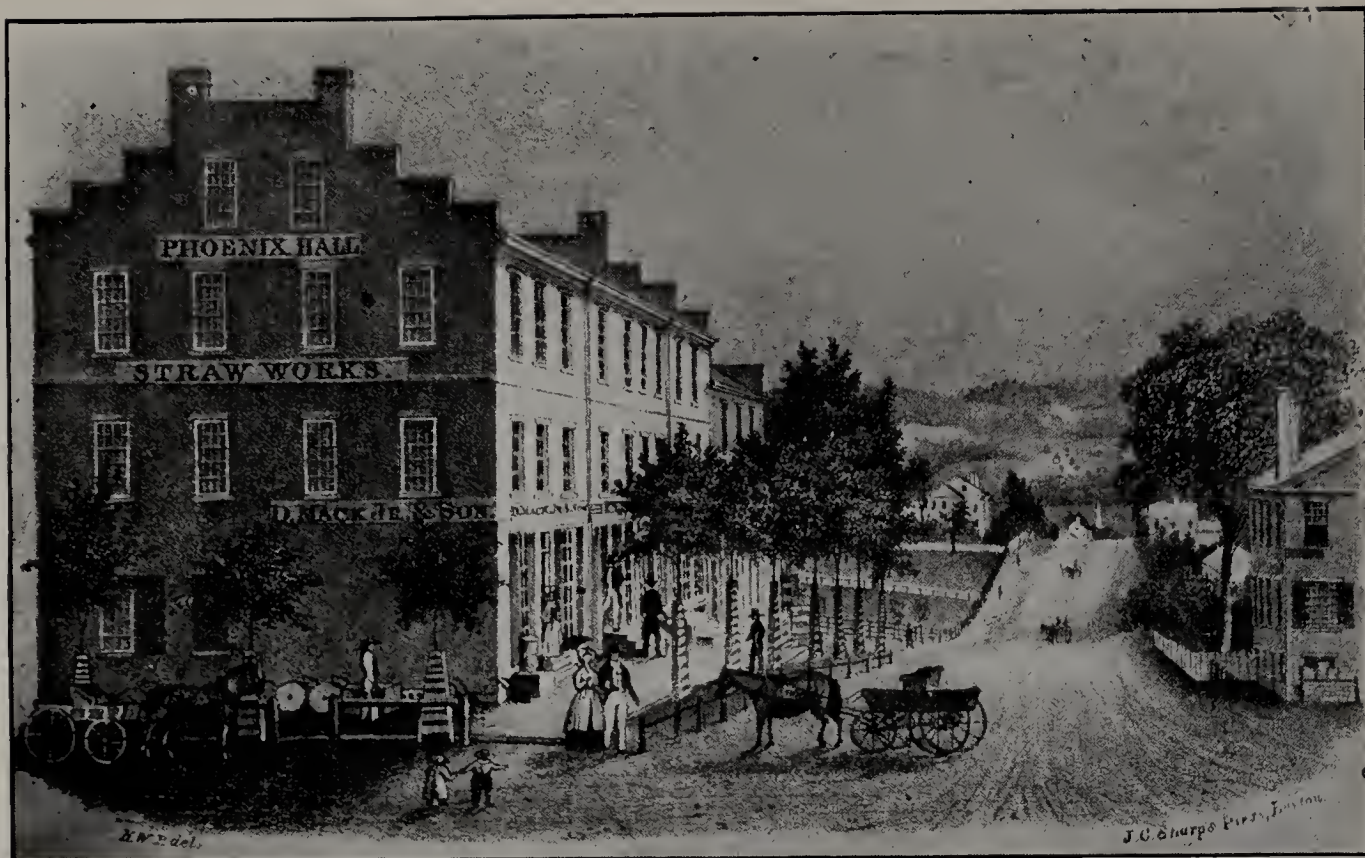


About 1865



About 1895

Phoenix Row



About 1840



About 1890

David Mack, Jr., John Dickinson, Jr., Luke Sweetser, and other enterprising business men undertook to create the Hampshire & Franklin Bank, but failed to raise the necessary sums for stock. Thus it was left for 1864 to become a year of grateful memory. For in 1864 both the First National Bank of Amherst and the Amherst Savings Bank were duly incorporated and began to supply cash, credit, and security for the community. The former of these soon built at the Central Vermont Crossing, but in 1891 moved into the southern block of Merchants Row, a block that later it was to purchase. The Savings Bank took up quarters early beside the post office, in a block which it was to occupy and later own at least until 1957. In 1900 George Cutler had served thirty-six of his fifty-four years as secretary of the Savings Bank, and Robert Morgan was just beginning a service of equal length.

In other respects as well Merchants Row was a lively shopping place. It had: two groceries, two dry goods stores, two jewelry stores, two clothiers, two millinery shops, a news store, a bookstore, a market, a drugstore, a shoestore, "Eddie" Thompson's machine shop, which, as he said, "stood behind the bank," the Mutual, the post office, a telegraph office, a barber shop, and a hotel. Merchants Row was also a symbol of prosperity.

By 1950 the picture was somewhat different. The hitching posts had given way, figuratively, to gas pumps. There were four automobile service stations in the center of town and ten more outside. There were changes in Merchants Row. The familiar window of the Cady Elder coal office was displaying television sets. Next door were the offices of the Western Massachusetts Electric Co., and there was now hardly a home in Amherst that did not depend upon electricity for from ten to thirty services. The post office had gone to North Pleasant Street, the national bank to its attractive new building on the northerly Amity Street corner. In the savings bank Fred Hawley was rounding out fifteen years as president. The southerly Amity Street corner, the site of a number of Amherst hostelries, was now occupied by the Jeffery Amherst book and music shop, the Adams drugstore, and an establishment which marked an evolution from what was once, actually as well as euphemistically, a "five and ten cent store."

Business was creeping toward the north, where Wilfred Toy was

perpetuating the Douglass funeral home, and where two good groceries were competitively facing each other across the street, each with its coterie of smaller shops, some of them pleasantly ensconced in the recently erected Roberts Block. And at the foot of Phoenix Row, business was also creeping a little toward the east. The dwindling center at the Central Vermont Crossing was dominated by the Elder Jones Lumber Co., the Elder being Hubert, son of Cady, and the Jones, Walter, grandson of Walter Cows. Nearby were the Amherst Grain and Coal Co., the marble works of Thomas Dorsey, Hamilton Newell's printing shop, and a few retail establishments.

As of 1955 Dun & Bradstreet listed 108 "businesses" in Amherst. The uninclusive Classified Telephone Directory for 1956 indicated four furniture stores, six groceries, fourteen garages and/or service stations, four men's clothing stores and two, more poetically, "women's apparel," six cleaners, five beauticians, two florists, two gift shops, three package stores, six insurance offices, eleven restaurants—enough to suggest that not every Amherst shopper goes to Northampton or Springfield.

The Amherst tradesmen have for over half a century worked together for common ends. A Board of Trade was organized in 1891 to encourage new industries and summer residents, but it failed to take root. In 1909 another effort was made under the name Amherst Business Men's Association. This soon became the Amherst Merchants Association. The first step in mercantile teamwork was agreement in regard to a time schedule among the stores. The Association promoted community enterprises: Fourth of July parades, Christmas trees, "Red Arrow" sales. Then it became again the Amherst Business Men's Association. It published *Trade News* and visitors' guides to Amherst, supported the State College's endeavor to become a university. The first of many rummage sales in Amherst took place in 1901 and was conducted by the D.A.R., but the first of church fairs and food sales—who can say? It was in 1950 that the merchants took what would seem to have been a last step in professional dignity; they became the Amherst Chamber of Commerce. As such, they have featured an annual community fair and band concerts on the common, and, under the secretaryship of

W. E. D. Ward, have considerably expanded their membership and scope.

The fact that Amherst has been a center of collegiate wisdom has not insured her citizens against financial disaster. They have indicated normal money-mindedness and, periodically, normal proneness to err. Back in the 1830's the community was swept off its feet by the prospect of sudden wealth from the propagation of silkworms by means of mulberry trees. Under the inspired misguidance of Timothy Smith everyone feverishly invested in seedlings and stock, and thousands of mulberry shrubs sprang up, to mock their owners. After the crash the local loss of money was found to be prodigious. In the early 1880's Amherst stumbled into a catastrophic gold rush. Colonel Clark had always been interested in metallurgy and after a "floating college" of which he was to be president failed to materialize, he went prospecting in the West. And like Timothy Smith he became a zealot. He became president of eight mines, manager of another, stockholder in six more. "During the palmy days of speculation . . . [he] deposited a check for \$50,000 in the Amherst National Bank." He did not solicit local investments. He did not have to. "Nearly everyone in town, including widows and orphans," joined the mad scramble toward the golden bandwagon. The *Springfield Republican* remarked, "It is seldom . . . that a whole community throws itself into a dice box." After the iridescent bubble had burst, there was bitterness, but at the time of Clark's untimely death in 1886, the local paper said of his speculations, "Almost every family suffered. But he suffered and mourned more deeply than any of them." And, strangely enough, the very next year our credulous citizens invested lavishly in "Iron Hall," a mushroom insurance scheme, and further depleted their already mistreated reserves.

The Amherst merchants have always eyed the colleges somewhat uneasily. Not only have the colleges been largely tax-exempt; in some ways they have indulged in what has seemed like unfair, or at least inconsiderate, competition. For years the Agricultural College made available to the public high-grade dairy products, poultry products, fruit, flowers, even meat. Morris Kingman, a local florist, was an alumnus, but that did not deter him from leading his associates in vigorous protest. Little by little the College reduced its

offerings, and finally eliminated them altogether. When Amherst College, in 1937, set up an all-campus fraternity purchasing service, and, in 1940, built Valentine Hall as a dining commons, there was further disquietude. It is obvious, however, that the colleges have brought to the village more business than they have taken from it, and during the depression years they must have contributed largely toward economic stability on Merchants Row.

Although it has had no effect upon our prosperity, the purely academic interest in business, as found upon both campuses, is another aspect of Amherst's uniqueness as a commercial center. The man who bought a pair of shoes at Bolles' store was quite possibly a national authority upon the law of supply and demand. Both colleges offer popular courses in economics. Much of the activity of the University's Department of Agricultural Economics has been research. The University also has a School of Business Administration. Colston Warne, at Amherst College, in 1936, presided over the organization of Consumers Union, the function of which is to provide the people of America with scientific guidance in purchasing standard commodities; and he has presided over its activities ever since. When, in 1952, an Amherst College alumnus made possible the Merrill Center for Economics at Southampton, N.Y., as an adjunct to his alma mater, a member of the faculty, Willard L. Thorp, a man with an international reputation and a variety of local associations, became its director. Thus business in Amherst is rather unusual in that the practical is supplemented, if not supported, by the theoretical.

But from the storekeeper's point of view the colleges are more important as buyers than as bookmen. Amherst College operates on a maintenance budget of over \$3,000,000, the University on one over twice as large. Both of them bring into town, temporarily, large crews of workmen to actuate their building programs. And the two colleges, under the direct management of local men, employing some 1600 personnel, serving nearly 6000 students, constitute the nearest approach which Amherst makes to "big business." And nowhere is salesmanship carried on more significantly than in their efforts to persuade alumni and legislators that education is a sound investment.

In the final analysis, then, the "goods" that are being marketed

in Amherst are preeminently the immaterial ones of mind and character. It is upon these that our prestige and prosperity depend.

Traders and tradesmen! If Hezekiah Strong was, properly speaking, our earliest tradesman, he thought of himself also as the father of Amherst Academy. Moreover it was he who took Colonel Graves over the southerly hill by moonlight to pace off the boundaries of a campus for Amherst College. If it had not been for his mercantile successors, the Cutlers, Amherst might very likely not have had her Jones Library. If there had been no high-minded business men like Leonard and Henry Hills, the Agricultural College might never have come to town. It took both Cows and King to provide for Amherst College her wildlife sanctuary. "Tommy" Walsh may not have a PhD, but the men who have one acknowledge his gracious share in their endeavors.

Our "goods" are education. Their trademark "Amherst" is known throughout the world. Our commodities are discipline and enlightenment. Our product, albeit always an unfinished product, well, perhaps, a Calvin Coolidge.

Farmers and Agriculturists

NORWOTTUCK was rural. There were farmers of a sort—the squaws. Whether the braves, by virtue of the procurement of meat and fish, which would seem to be food production, or by virtue of supervising the squaws, would have wished to be so classified is doubtful. All of the Indian deeds transferring Hadley lands to the whites included reservations in regard to hunting, fowling, and fishing, and two of the three also mention a particular "planting ground." The autumnal burnings, however, were clearly in the interest of the former; cultivation was secondary. The favorite crop was corn, planted in hills five or six feet apart, among which were interspersed beans, pumpkins, and squashes. There were also, of course, native nuts and berries. The Valley Indians were, in a sense, settled tribes, and, although there is no evidence of a village or cornfields within the region which has become Amherst, certainly

they were dependent upon the gifts of nature for subsistence; perhaps we should call them agrarian.

At any rate the settlers were. They had been agricultural in England, and supplemented what they found in the New World with practices, crops, and livestock from the Old. Almost every man, even though he were a craftsman or potential industrialist, was also a farmer. Even the academic Noah Webster owned and occupied a farm. Every family was self-supporting, self-sufficient. Most of the grains, vegetables, and fruits familiar to us, somehow made their appearance. Livestock became important. Hogs were the most staple source of meat. Horses were useful, but largely under the saddle. Simeon Strong was the first Amherst man, in 1791, to own a carriage. Oxen became the beasts of burden. Cows, sparingly, furnished milk, and calves. Apples, natural fruit but later grafted, made possible the milling of cider, of which Amherst, in 1771, was said to average more than four barrels a household. Flax was the most common material for homespuns, but there was also wool. Sweets were maple syrup, molasses, honey. Chestnuts were regarded as common property, but walnuts belonged strictly to the owner of the tree. Every household had some hens, and perhaps some geese or tame turkeys. Amherst grew a little "shoe string" tobacco.

In 1771, with 120 householders, Amherst was inventoried, in part, as follows: 153 horses, 187 oxen (Did some one have a spare?), 319 cows, 647 sheep, 214 swine, 1292 acres of tillage land, 6596 bushels of grain, 877 acres of upland mowing, 389 acres of fresh meadow, 419 acres of pasturage. Obviously she was now more than self-supporting. As a matter of fact, she was carting grain to Boston; and transporting livestock, usually on the hoof.

Colonial farming was both personal and communal. For example, much of what became Amherst had once been a common pasture for Hadley farmers, the proprietors of the lots therein sharing the responsibility for fencing and herdsmanhip.

Life in Amherst was rugged in the eighteenth century—often comfortless, albeit not really precarious. Labor and nature when yoked together are a productive team. This was, in a somewhat primitive sense, prosperity.

Farming began to sound a little like agriculture in 1813, when a

group of citizens, including such non-agrarians as Simeon Strong, the judge; Robert Cutler, the doctor; Hezekiah Strong, the merchant; and Samuel Fowler Dickinson, the lawyer, were incorporated as the Hampshire Agricultural Society, a society which was absorbed into a three-county one five years later. In 1813 no one thought of Amherst as anything but a farming town. And it was still primarily a farming town in 1851, when Marshall P. Wilder, speaking at the local cattle show, took occasion to say: "It is particularly cheering to all who have at heart the advancement of agriculture to witness the large number of professional gentlemen, for which Amherst is so celebrated, coming forward with a helping hand and cooperating with the intelligent farmers of Hampshire County on behalf of an institution for the promotion of that most important and useful pursuit, the culture of mother earth." In 1851 the promoters and theorists—the agriculturists, if you please—who made their initial appearance in 1813, were now on hand in force. Ruralism was in vogue.

Of course it was largely the dirt farmers who were milling about the village green in 1851. Since the cattle show was held in October, the green was presumably brown, and also dry. And since it was now in its fifth year, it was an accepted and acclaimed occasion, and exhibitors brought their choicest products from all over the county. Visualize, if you can, the common alive with 500 head of cattle, 390 oxen, 123 horses, 600 showings of poultry, the customary raucous sideshows, and hundreds of other visitors, mostly human, providing a colorful background for the distinguished guest speaker of the day. Amherst herself contributed notably. We have a property inventory of the town as of 1845: 336 horses, 1668 neat cattle, 625 swine, 2054 sheep, 18,930 bushels of corn, 6585 bushels of rye, 8903 bushels of oats, 1691 bushels of potatoes, 82,447 pounds of butter, 65,659 pounds of broom brush, 4805 bushels of fruit. Although statistics are usually either stupid or misleading, for the informed and thoughtful reader these are impressive. It would seem that the farmers of Amherst were doing very well.

It should be mentioned, perhaps, that farming was still almost entirely manual. About the only recourse to other aid was to ox power. In 1855 Amherst listed nearly 550 oxen, more than one ox for every six inhabitants.

It was now that the agriculturists began to take over. In terms of Amherst's forthcoming agrarian fame, they were not so much to supplement the local farmers as to supplant them. This is a bit of irony, and probably not as significant as it may sound.

The pioneer agriculturist was really Edward Hitchcock. With his omnivorous zest for progressive enterprise, he had associated himself with early agriculturists everywhere. Indeed he had been a member of the first state board of agriculture, and, in 1850, while abroad, he made a survey of 352 agricultural schools in Europe. Upon his return, he established at Amherst College a chair in which "the elements of agriculture will be taught theoretically and practically by the Rev. J. A. Nash," author of a book entitled *The Progressive Farmer*, and a neighbor on Mount Pleasant. This course never actually materialized. But, in 1864, when Massachusetts was ready to establish an agricultural school at the college level, Hitchcock summoned his successor, President Stearns, to his deathbed to impress upon him that the proposed institution should be located not in Lexington or Springfield or Northampton, but in Amherst.

So it was that when the day for decision came, three Amherst College stalwarts, Stearns, Edward Dickinson, and Colonel Clark, allied themselves with the unlettered but influential Levi Stockbridge, and brought the Hitchcock dream to fulfillment. Let it be added that eloquence and logic were staunchly supported by assurance of \$25,000 from Amherst College and \$50,000 from the town. Significant, too, is the fact that when the voters came together to legislate the town's contribution, it was the farmers, traditionally suspicious of village improvement projects, who furnished most of the opposition.

At any rate the local enthusiasts got their agricultural school, for over half a century to be known and loved as Old Aggie, but, as of 1957, the College of Agriculture in the University of Massachusetts.

Originally its function was, and basically it has continued to be, to attract and train potential farmers and agriculturists. The early presidents were graduates from Dartmouth, Harvard, Amherst, and Williams; and the course of study for years was patterned after that of the liberal arts colleges but wagging a lively agrarian tail. It was

Levi Stockbridge who kept the tail, and, as it turned out, in 1880, the whole animal, alive.

Stockbridge had been a North Hadley farmer, and, like Hitchcock, was not a college graduate. He was, however, well-informed, and by virtue of various soil-testing plots behind his barn, already qualified as an agriculturist. Some of his shrewd formulas were commercialized under the one-time familiar slogan "For the land's sake use Bowker fertilizers." When the college was temporarily bankrupt, Stockbridge personally assumed the payroll. When its very existence was threatened, he became president *ad interim* and its savior. He was an effective and inspiring teacher. Not long after his retirement in 1882 the college could report that nearly half of its living graduates were engaged in agricultural pursuits.

It was Stockbridge, too, who, ably supported by the German agricultural chemist, Charles A. Goessmann, laid the foundations for the establishment of an experiment station in 1882. This station, under both state and federal auspices and under such expert directors as Goessmann, Brooks, Haskell, Sievers, and Sieling, with a horticultural unit at Waltham and a cranberry unit at Wareham, has sought to discover and reveal the why's and therefore the how's of farm practice. It has concerned itself with soils, crops, breeding, pests, and diseases in every field of agricultural enterprise. Colonel Clark's famous squash, which in the process of growth expansion lifted a weight of two and a half tons, was, in 1876, only a symbol of less spectacular but more significant things to come. There are in 1957 over ninety scientists on the station staff. Some of its work is routine, regulatory; much is in collaboration with, or confirmation of, findings elsewhere. But in certain areas—soil chemistry, entomology, food technology, poultry disease, shade tree preservation—its contributions have been outstanding. And now the farmers applaud.

For forty years the college cruised along with a series of pilots: French, Chadbourne, Clark, Flint, Stockbridge, Chadbourne again, Greenough, Goodell. It encountered smooth sailing, and rough. Perhaps its sunniest day was that of its first commencement, which Clark highlighted by bringing to Amherst Vermont's Senator Morrill, who sired the Morrill Act; the current governor and his successor; Marshall P. Wilder; Louis Agassiz; a future United States

commissioner of agriculture, and others almost as memorable. There were twenty-seven graduates, including the above-mentioned William H. Bowker. The unregarded Aggie crew defeated Harvard and Brown at an Ingleside regatta. The lusty president fairly exuded satisfaction. Its dreariest day was almost certainly eight years later when Governor Long in desperation recommended to the General Court that the troublesome little school be offered to Amherst College. Fortunately local sanity, at both ends of town, prevailed.

In 1906 the College was placed under the leadership of a dedicated, almost fanatical, ruralist—Kenyon L. Butterfield. For twenty-three years he administered it, with conspicuous success, as “the only college in the United States devoted exclusively to agriculture.” It proved to be a popular slogan, and, incidentally, a sign of the times. In ten years Butterfield tripled his student body, his staff, his curriculum, and his plant. He placed the stamp of his convictions upon every course: Agricultural Chemistry, Agricultural Economics, Agricultural Education, Rural Journalism, Rural Home Life, Rural Literature, Rural Sociology. The last of these was his personal creation, and constituted a constructive, albeit somewhat controversial, contribution to American education.

It was Butterfield who appended a second vital wing to the college classroom program—the Extension Service. This was preeminently and triumphantly adult education. By means of short courses on the campus, particularly the two-year Stockbridge School of Agriculture, expert field agents in all departments, extension schools, “farm bureaus” in all the counties, and the publications popularizing the findings of the Experiment Station, Butterfield emphatically demonstrated his belief that the classroom was indeed the state. He was determined to bring the farmers and the agriculturists together, and in large measure he did.

For two decades the College rode a wave of rural ardor, a wave which it had in part created. But by 1923, when Butterfield resigned to become president of his alma mater, later Michigan State University, it had pretty much subsided; and, although the agricultural services have not deteriorated, the institutional expansion has been largely along other lines. When the name was changed, under Thatcher in 1929, from Massachusetts Agricultural College

to Massachusetts State College, there were loyal Aggie alumni who were outraged, but the change was inevitable. It might have been delayed; it could not have been averted.

Suggestive of this was the Lotta bequest. "Lotta" Crabtree was a mid-century juvenile dancer and impersonator on the Pacific coast. At the close of her performances in smoke-filled saloons and music halls, miners would shower her with nuggets. Later, still diminutive, she delighted the sophisticates throughout the country. And by virtue of her artistry, frugality, and lucrative investments in land, she found herself eventually a lonely spinster in Boston, burdened with a fortune of over three million dollars. Always she had loved animals; she had owned a string of race-track horses. And, as she made her will, she provided that well over a million dollars should ultimately become a trust fund to benefit students or graduates of the Agricultural College, which she had never seen, primarily to assist them, by loans, to establish themselves as farmers. Indirectly this bequest would also benefit the domestic animals, particularly the horses. There is irony in the fact that by the time it shall have come to full fruition, the horse, as beneficiary, will have become virtually extinct.

While the tax-exempt agriculturist institution more and more absorbed the village, the tax-paying farmers outside continued to farm. But farther afield. There were both cows and an orchard at the Amherst College president's house in the 1870's. "The first money I ever earned," Alfred Stearns remembered, "came from driving our own cows and the cows of several residents of Northampton Road to a pasture located about a mile from the college hill." In 1885 President Seelye, "lost a valuable Jersey cow with milk fever the other day." At the time of the Revolution, when there were about 250 adult males in Amherst and only a couple of dozen more houses than barns, there must certainly have been over two hundred men whom we would think of as farmers. In 1957 there are less.

The last hundred years have seen the greatest changes, particularly, perhaps, in kind. In 1855 there were 550 oxen in Amherst; in 1941 that number had shrunk to two—Bill and Bob—owned by Henry King on Flat Hills Road. In 1845 there were 2054 sheep; in 1951 the tax list indicated only twenty-one, although one of the

owners, Arthur Holmes, a professor of chemistry, increased his flock to thirty-two before he died in 1956. Horses on Main Street have become so rare that children stop and point at them. There are, however, as of 1957, twenty-eight purebred, registered Morgans in Amherst, and several others of lower dignity. And Mrs. Winthrop Dakin has held various offices in the New England Morgan Horse Club. Even fifty years ago Amherst grew a large amount of timothy hay for the Holyoke horse market; now it is alfalfa for the neighborhood cows. The hay scales, which for years adorned the village green and in 1879 were moved around onto Amity Street in front of Paige's stable, have followed the horses and the hay. Corn is now grown primarily for silage, the first silo having been built by W. V. Hawkes in 1881. Broom corn has entirely disappeared. The agricultural fair, for which grounds and buildings were provided on Belchertown Road in 1859, became less and less agricultural, and in 1917 closed its gates. Amherst is still a very important farming township, but it has become much less a farming town, and very different. The difference is, perhaps, as significant as the degree.

However, there are still cows in Amherst, in 1955 no less than 3091 of them, the largest number per square mile of any town in the state, and the second largest total. And a great many of them are registered. One is tempted to say that the grade cow is following the oxen, into oblivion. The milker has become as out-of-date as the milkmaid. As recently as 1913 Aggie boys were trudging up to Raymond Dickinson's on Montague Road to see an incredible contrivance, a milking machine, in practical operation. Nearby Robert Adams still maintains a large milking herd for the local trade. Skim milk, most of which used to serve as hogwash, has now become "fat-free" and commands a fancy price. All milk is pasteurized, homogenized, modernized. There has been a creamery in Amherst since 1882. The current "factory" is an attractive plant on Sunset Avenue, said to be the only established creamery in the Commonwealth still making butter. One of its employees, Charles Fish, retired in 1942 after fifty years of service. The cattle men of yesterday now rate as breeders. Ellis C. Harlow for a quarter of a century maintained a purebred Jersey herd on East Pleasant Street, a herd which was publicized in 1946 as "the oldest tuberculin-

tested herd in Massachusetts." Back in 1924 the newspapers carried an obituary of Constance, Ulysses Groff's Jersey—a world champion in butter and fat production. The Groff herd, in 1957, is owned by Louis Dandelske on Pomeroy Lane. The Wentworths in South Amherst and Mrs. Gerald Jones in North Amherst have herds of registered Ayrshires. Richard March, Albert Jacque, and Howard Atkins, all toward the south of town, have registered Jerseys. The March herd was reported as "highest testing of all breeds" in Massachusetts in 1954. Constantine Jarvis has done something with beef. In 1957 the dairy farm on Miner Tuttle's Fort Hill was, briefly, the largest in the state. The University barns are, of course, a perennial exhibit for both casuals and specialists. The cattle show may have gone, but Amherst still has cattle to show.

The fruit-growing industry presents a somewhat different picture. There were apple trees in the early days. Noah Webster's little farm was referred to as an orchard. But the commercial activities date from 1850, the year Salem Hammond set out in South Amherst a planting of one hundred trees. His selection of site would seem to have been inspired; it is too bad that he cannot know that recent Amherst College geologists have declared that the plateau from Fort River to the Holyoke Range, once indeed an island, is the most favorable fruit land in this region. In 1887 George Atkins, father of William H., purchased the farm and introduced into Amherst that pomological pride, the McIntosh. Ethel King Folsom has said that in the 1880's there were growing on the family homestead on Flat Hills thirty-two varieties, and that there was at least one year when the trees yielded eight hundred barrels of fruit. Adele Allen, living by the village green, was familiar with the following varieties in her father's yard: Early Harvest, Oyster Bay, Baldwin, Northern Spy, Russet, Bellflower.

It is in South Amherst still that we find our apple acres. In 1895 Myron Graves bought the Bridgman Tavern farm on Bay Road and started what later became the Markert orchards. In 1908 Professors Waugh and Sears, a couple of hardy "agriculturists," laid out the Bay Road Fruit Farm. Incidentally the young man whom they engaged to set out five thousand trees was Willard A. Munson, later to be for many years director of the college's Extension Serv-

ice. They featured what Van Meter and Thies were to popularize as "The New England Seven": Baldwins, Delicious, Gravensteins, Rhode Island Greenings, Macs, Spies, and Wealthies.

There were, and are, other good orchards, mostly in this neighborhood, but, as of 1957, the outstanding ones are, perhaps: the Atkins ones, now operated by the third generation of a notable South Amherst family; the Lyman one, set out in 1915; the Markert ones, including what has been reputed to be the largest planting of Greenings in Massachusetts and also an electrically refrigerated storage; and the Bay Road ones, since 1925 owned by Edward R. Critchett. Together they have a production capacity of over fifty thousand bushels. In 1930 Ruben Pomeroy built the commercial storage plant which Wesley Wentworth now operates on West Street; and, in 1956, William and Howard Atkins built a newer model (controlled atmosphere) for their own use on their farms. From 1914 until 1938 Charles Miller operated a glass-canning factory for fruit, in South Amherst. Charles E. Stiles, on West Street, was the first to conduct a wayside stand. All in all, there are over four hundred acres of trees in Amherst. Thus in a river valley far-famed for tobacco and onions, Amherst has sweetened the month of May—with apple blossoms.

There was at the Agricultural College for twenty-seven years a poultry professor by the name of John Graham. He may not have made as far-reaching contributions to the husbandry as his pathological and genetical associates, Goodale, Gage, and Hays; but he had the rare gift of making a fowl seem as alluring as a peach. And it was coincident with his residence that poultry-raising became a major activity in Amherst. Like the apples, the chickens seemed to thrive in the southeast part of town. The industrialization of the hen has meant for her: longer working hours, under lights; mass colonization, made possible by preventive therapy; more eggs per ovary, as a result of selective breeding. The agriculturists and the farmers have worked together in Amherst, and the farmyard flock has become a factory. The Cooks built the first three-story, illuminated plant, on South East Street. Roger Owen built another on Belchertown Road. Robert Schoonmaker bred a high-producing strain of Rhode Island Reds. John Schoonmaker patented a cross between White Rocks and Wyandottes, and won blue ribbons in

national shows. For at least a decade, beginning in 1915, we had a local show. Although of late it appears that poultryman ardor has somewhat abated; nonetheless, the hens of Amherst have been mobilized and conditioned for the profit parade.

There is another commercial crop, mostly in North Amherst—tobacco. In 1953 there were, to be exact, 188.1 acres thereof. The soil on the Allen Clark farm has for years been considered uniquely favorable for tobacco culture, and currently the Imperial Tobacco Co. has been renting it in order to produce, under tenting, leaves of exceptional quality. Among the large local growers may be mentioned: Peter Ostrowski, John Swartz, Stanley, Peter, and Kazimer Mitchell—all of North Amherst; and Joseph Kershlis and the Slabys on South East Street. Tobacco growing is exacting and laborious, and Amherst is indebted to her citizens of Polish and Lithuanian derivation for most of her productivity. It has been said of Stanley Mitchell that during the harvesting season “he frequently went to bed only every other night.” Mitchell had some beautiful geese. Asked if they were profitable, he said he didn’t know. “Why do you keep them then?” “Why,” he answered, “do you hang pictures on your walls?” The Levi Stockbridge farm in North Hadley is now one of the holdings of Peter P. Mokrzecky & Sons, Inc., a firm which has paid in taxes, after prosperous seasons, close to fifty thousand dollars. Levi Stockbridge would be impressed, pleased, perhaps a little proud.

Amherst would not be Amherst without her agriculturists. She would not be Amherst without her farmers.

THREE

Violence, and therefrom—Order

Battle Cries of Freedom

ON January 22, 1902, there died in Amherst a venerable man by the name of Henry Jackson. The community was deeply moved. Professor Genung conducted the funeral service. The *Amherst Record* published an obituary that ran for three and one-half columns. It did more, something that it had never done before and was not to do again until the death of Dr. Charles Walker in 1933—it carried his picture. For almost longer than living men could remember he had been a teamster, serving Amherst merchants and banks with consignments to and from Northampton and Greenfield. He was a highly regarded citizen, and, as the saying goes, “colored.” At the time of his death not many of his acquaintances were aware that he once served a three-month sentence in jail.

It happened in 1840. There was in Belchertown a family by the name of Shaw, with whom lived a nine-year-old colored girl by the name of Angeline Palmer. She was a servant, presumably indentured. Prior to the 1780's, when the Commonwealth abolished slavery “by judicial construction,” Massachusetts business men were amassing family fortunes by slave trading, albeit for the Southern and not the New England markets. Still, in 1718, Governor Shute estimated the number of slaves in Massachusetts as two thousand, “mostly negroes.” As of 1764, “out of the 40,876 families in Massachusetts . . . one-eighth owned the colony's 5235 slaves”; the period of servitude, however, was not always for life. The following year there were twenty slaves in Hadley; each of the first three ministers in Hadley is said to have owned a slave or two. In 1765 Amherst was discredited with only six.

There were none, of course, in 1840. However the Shaws were about to move into the South, taking Angeline with them. Lewis Frazier of Amherst, a half-brother of the girl, was fearful that once

below the Mason and Dixon's Line she might be forced into slavery; thereupon he, with Henry Jackson and another negro, abducted her from the Shaw homestead and secreted her among friends in Colrain. In consequence they were duly arrested, and charged with beating, abusing, and ill-treating "the said Angeline then and there unlawfully and injuriously, against the will and without the consent of her the said Angeline" et cetera, in the formidable jargon of the law. The three men admitted the abduction, but could not be threatened or cajoled into revealing her place of hiding. Rather than do so, they accepted and completed a three-month sentence behind the bars. They were, however, frequently, during the day, released on parole, and the *Gazette* reported that in Amherst "the sympathies of the people are almost wholly with the colored persons."

In 1840 the controversy over slavery was beginning to rock the nation, and there had been some stirrings in Amherst. Land'od Oliver Dickinson, who, in 1826, had made a strong point of having a Jim Crow pew in his North Amherst church, had been persuaded to relent. In 1833 the College boys organized an anti-slavery society with seventy-five members, abandoned it out of consideration of President Humphrey's apprehension of violent disturbance, reactivated it in 1837, but, in 1841, saw it die a natural death. In 1835 village idealists cooperated in the founding of the Hampshire County Anti-Slavery Society, and saw this, too, in 1841, die a natural death. In 1839 Edward Dickinson wrote of Osmyn Baker, Amherst's Whig candidate for Congress, "No abolitionist can vote for one who, his neighbors say, has always sneered at their efforts." But Baker was elected. Later Dickinson was also elected. But, although in Washington he stood staunchly against the extension of slavery, he was thereafter twice defeated for re-election, and with humiliating majorities even in Amherst. About 1860 there died in Amherst an aged negress, Wealthy Wheeler, procured many years before from a dealer by the Oliver Cowls family. The local undertaker refused to drive the hearse, and another Oliver Cowls, a mere youngster, took over the reins. It was notorious that Amherst's Henry Ward Beecher was moved to abolitionist eloquence only after long vacillation, and his sister's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the villain of which was a Vermonter, may have been originally intended

to reconcile rather than to arouse. Conscientious and thoughtful men were not always crusaders. History has simplified the issue for the benefit of patriots and school children.

Then came the war.

The Southerners had raised a battle cry of freedom—freedom to secede. This freedom the Northerners stoutly denied. Their battle cry was the paradoxical slogan “Union and Liberty.” The country flamed into action. Fort Sumter fell. It was war.

The news reached our village on April 17, 1861, and Amherst instantly rushed into oratory. That very afternoon there was an assembly in the college chapel. President Stearns offered prayer, and Prof. William S. Clark read the Declaration of Independence. The following Sunday Tyler preached so fiery a sermon that immediately afterwards sixty students, following the example of the President’s son, pledged themselves to enlist. On Monday there was a meeting of townsmen in Agricultural Hall, which, after exhortations by Edward Dickinson and Rev. George Cooke, voted to undertake a company of volunteers. There were flag-raising, public and private. North Amherst held a spirited meeting addressed by the Hon. Charles Delano and three official spokesmen of the Prince of Peace. Lincoln called for volunteers to serve for three months. The Rev. James Merrick of South Amherst offered a small personal bounty to boys in his parish who might respond. Young patriots everywhere were straining at the leash.

But it was not to be so simple or so easy as that. The three-months enlistment was to become “three years or the duration.” The struggle was to be long and exhausting. Soon the glamour was gone. After the drama came the draft.

The first Amherst man to be mustered into service was Charles F. Kellogg, on May 25. The first Amherst man to be killed in action was Francis H. Dickinson, on October 21, at Ball’s Bluff. A Kellogg and a Dickinson! Of the 315 Amherst men to be enrolled in the armies or navy, there were five Kelloggs and thirteen Dickinsons. In the Revolutionary War there had also been five Kelloggs, but there had been twenty-six Dickinsons. In contrast to the Revolutionary muster roll, there were now very few Biblical given names other than James and John. There were as yet no Polish names. There were a few Irish: Michael Maloney, Patrick O’Toole, Corne-

lius O'Connor, Dennis, John and Patrick Beston. After the Emancipation Proclamation there were negroes. "Mrs. C. Thompson of this town has now in the army of the United States four sons, one son-in-law, and six grandsons, all in the Massachusetts 54th and 5th Cavalry colored regiments." The Irish, for the most part, were born in the old country; the negroes had come up from slavery. A new era was on its way.

Seventy-one of the Amherst soldiers enlisted in the 27th Regiment in the fall of 1861. Their term was three years. Eight were killed in action or mortally wounded. Six died. Twenty-three were wounded but survived. Nine were made prisoners. At the Battle of New Berne one was killed and four wounded. At Cold Harbor three were killed and eight wounded. At Petersburg, three and one. Actually Amherst fared better than the regiment at large. When their three years were over, only 179 of the original 980 returned. Onlookers said, "My God, can this be all?" The regiment was reactivated, however, on a skeleton basis, and was captured *in toto* at Southwest Creek in the spring of 1865. No other Massachusetts regiment suffered the sacrifices of war to so great a degree.

Except for the fact that no one experienced a Confederate prison, the Amherst men in the 37th Regiment endured as rugged a hardship as those in the 27th. They enlisted in the fall of 1862 for three years, which meant the duration. The regiment saw a great deal of action and privation. In the pursuit of Lee's army after Gettysburg over half of the regiment were shoeless. There were twenty-seven carloads of them when they left New England for the front; when they returned there were six. Amherst had twenty-eight men in this regiment. Four were killed, one died, twelve suffered wounds. At Winchester, the first of Sheridan's victories, three were wounded. In the Wilderness and at Spottsylvania two were killed and six wounded. At Sailor's Creek, the last pitched battle of the war, one man was killed. The statistics of casualties are the badge of courage.

The experience of the forty-four Amherst men in the 52rd Regiment was very different. These men enlisted in the fall of 1862 for nine months, and were taunted with the question, "Be you a soldier or a nine-months man?" Actually, with the exception of the siege and capture of Port Hudson on the Mississippi River, they saw little

real fighting. No one was killed; only two wounded. But seven died from disease. The winter and spring in the Louisiana swamps and canebrakes, infested with scurvy, dysentery, malaria, and typhoid, were ingloriously devastating. When the men returned after their bitter sojourn in the South, they were emaciated almost beyond recognition. Indeed Charles Hiram Thayer's father, having gone to Northampton to meet his two brothers, shook hands with one of them and then said, "Where's Ed?" The reply all but bowled him over: "Why, you're looking at him now."

There were fifteen Amherst boys, not including the college students, in the 21st. They were all in the company organized by the ardent and colorful Colonel Clark, and he saw to it that they took part in plenty of action. At the battle of New Berne two of them were killed and a third was wounded. One of the two was President Stearns' boy, Frazar, who had already been wounded a month before at Roanoke Island. So heroic a memory he left behind that General Burnside presented a captured gun to the regiment, which in turn presented it to Amherst College, where it was ceremoniously enshrined as a memorial, and may now be seen in Morgan Hall. Another local boy lost his life at Chantilly. It was here that the impulsive colonel himself became separated from his troops behind enemy lines, and was later reported dead. The *Express* published a glowing obituary under the heading "Another Hero Gone," but Clark happily reappeared, undamaged and undaunted. Although he took part in seven major battles, he was more fortunate than the other fourteen Amherst men in his command, three of whom were killed, three of whom died from disease, and five of whom were wounded.

Among the 315 Amherst soldiers and sailors the number of commissioned officers was small: three colonels (Rufus P. Lincoln and Mason W. Tyler of the 37th and Clark of the 21st); one lieutenant-colonel; one major; six captains; five first lieutenants; four second lieutenants. Altogether there were twenty-nine who were killed in action or died from wounds, twenty-eight who died from disease, forty-nine who were wounded, nine who were captured and imprisoned. This would indicate some seventy-five homes in one way or another thrown into mourning, and twice as many others subjected to the poignant suffering of uncertainty.

Our annals should also include the seventy-eight Amherst College undergraduates who enlisted, and perhaps also the 195 alumni. That the college men were more favorably circumstanced in the matter of commissions is indicated by the following statistics: brigadier-generals, three; colonels, nine; lieutenant-colonels, twelve; majors, nine. Town and gown had almost exactly the same number of men under arms, but gown had over six times as many officers above the rank of captain. Notable also is the fact that the College contributed thirty-five chaplains and thirty-five surgeons.

As the excitement of enlistments subsided and the casualty lists increased in number and length, the war became more and more a frightful routine of endurance. Lincoln's call to arms became commands. Individuals might still offer their services, but their communities were under draft compulsion. Thus, in August 1862, the Amherst officials found themselves a recruiting post. The town appropriated money for bait. William F. Stearns, a son of the President, personally added, for the first thirty-five volunteers, \$25 to the \$100 bounty offered by the town. Thus the town's quota was exceeded, and the question arose whether the surplus volunteers rated the bounty. In fact, the soldiers on their way to the front sent back word that if the town "refuses to pay the whole, the men say they shall all come home." The threat was fantastic, but the following week the citizens voted to compensate all alike. A year later the bounties from state and nation were \$1172 for veterans re-enlisting and \$1072 for recruits. But by this time volunteer enlistments were pretty much a thing of the past.

In December 1862 the local paper declared, "We have serious doubts whether the offer of any bounty will procure from this town any more volunteers . . . The pitiful stories of returning soldiers have entirely dissipated the desires of the young men to enlist." At that time Amherst had 179 men in uniform and had suffered fifteen deaths. The Union cause was almost desperate. The Army of the Potomac had proved unable to cope with Jackson and Lee. The bottom of the enlistment barrel was plainly in sight. On January 1, with an eye to the military crisis, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, and Congress thereafter passed the first conscription act.

Indicative of deterioration in morale would seem to be the case of Colonel Clark. When war was declared, he had been hardly able to wait to be off. Charles Hitchcock, writing to his brother at Williston, said: "Prof. Clark has been so foolish as to set all college by the ears . . . It is positively wrong, I think, to stir up the students so much." On April 22, 1863, Clark resigned his commission, as follows: "I hereby respectfully tender my resignation and ask to be honorably discharged the service [sic] of the United States. My reasons are the reduced condition of my regiment and my belief that I can be more useful at home than in the army under existing conditions." It is probable that many of the three-year volunteers would have been glad to have done the same. Five of his fourteen associates from Amherst were still in the regiment at the end of the war.

The draft, of course, introduced new problems and procedures in Amherst. All able-bodied men between the ages of twenty and forty-five were to be registered. There were two general classifications: the married men over thirty-five in one, all others in the second. Men who were drafted might provide substitutes or purchase exemption upon payment of \$300. Henry Marsh, editor of the *Express*, was the local official. Amherst had 392 men in Class B, of whom 191 were subject to call. Her first quota was eighty-eight. After the drawing of names came the physical examinations and in some cases the effort to avoid going to the front. Of the Amherst contingent twenty secured substitutes and seven purchased exemption. Among them were four of the College faculty: Edward Hitchcock, Jr., who paid the \$300, and Professors Crowell, Mather, and Vose, who provided substitutes without waiting for the medical examination. The Rev. George Cooke, who had been so eloquently patriotic in 1861, was now advertising an insurance policy against conscription. A club was organized in North Amherst for mutual protection: if a member were drafted, the others were obligated to help him purchase exemption. In December 1864 "at a meeting of the enrolled men . . . it was decided to make an effort to raise men to apply on our quota for any future call. Hiram C. Howard and William W. Smith were appointed a committee to solicit subscriptions of \$10 from the enrolled men liable to the draft . . . At

the town meeting on Tuesday . . . it was voted to authorize the selectmen to pay \$125 for every volunteer." About \$1800 was thus subscribed, and the following week "one of the committee is now in Boston, procuring men." In one way or another Amherst always succeeded in filling her quotas, but the days of patriotic cheering were now all but forgotten.

Surprisingly there was no serious disruption at Amherst College. There was, of course, that initial rush toward enlistment in 1861, but the total loss of students for military service was under eighty. Amherst's enrollment had been running a little over two hundred before the war, and during the war there was only one year when it was under. The only change in the curriculum was the substitution of drill for physical education. The undergraduates uncovered a disreputable old hearse and staged a mock burial of Jefferson Davis. A chapter of the Chi Psi fraternity was installed on the campus. Charles H. Parkhurst, class of '66, wrote in his memoir, "Nothing out of the ordinary occurred during my four years at Amherst."

Lee's surrender in 1865 settled the question of freedom to secede. Lincoln's epochal proclamation, substantiated in 1865 by the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, assured freedom from slavery for the colored race. The demobilization of the armies led to freedom from regimentation and fear, for thousands of war-weary veterans. The people of Amherst were able to look back upon the turbulent times with civic, if not always personal, pride. The Union had been preserved, the negroes liberated, and Amherst had done her patriotic bit. The E. M. Stanton post of the Grand Army of the Republic was organized in 1867 with 191 members and continued to function, at least nominally and particularly on Memorial Days, until the death of its longest surviving veteran, Marcus W. Morrison, in 1935. A chapter of the Women's Relief Corps was organized in 1889. From the Amherst College campus one could hear the bells of a memorial chime. And fluttering against the changing sky, above both campuses and also the village green, there were, and still are, colorful reminders of the days of tragic glory.

*Flag of the free,
Heart's hope and home!*

Crime and Punishment

IN spite of so large and occasionally obstreperous a student population, Amherst has never been a disorderly town. There have been nocturnal disturbances, it is true: in connection with athletic victories, class conflicts, hazing, fraternity initiations. There have been pranks—false fire alarms and the like. Sometimes there has been property damage, but seldom at the expense of the townspeople. Mischief, misdemeanors—not actual lawlessness. Yet no one envies a dean of men; and even a dean of women may be said to have her bad moments. And what would Amherst have come to be without the steadying influence of the police!

When the precinct became the district of Amherst in 1759, it elected, for the first time, two constables and two tithingmen. According to dependable Judd, “the constable had many duties to perform, and in executing them he carried a black staff, five feet long, tipped with brass. In Massachusetts he was the collector of taxes and rates.” And tithingmen “were to inspect the conduct of liquor sellers, Sabbath breakers, night walkers, tipplers, etc., and present the names of the disorderly to a magistrate.”

In 1799 the pattern changed a bit: “Voted to Higher a Constable for the Currant year, to Collect all the Town taxes and do all the other Business Necessary for a Constable to do;” and he had to furnish bondsmen. This meeting elected six tithingmen. By 1854 we were electing two constables again, and in 1855 three. In 1858 it was voted “that the Treasurer be appointed Collector of taxes.” By 1862 the tithingmen had faded from the ballot.

In 1872 the selectmen appointed a night policeman, one of whose duties was to light and put out the street lamps. The following year, in accordance with a new state law, they built a “lock-up,” and he was also responsible for that. “During the first year after its erection fourteen prisoners were confined in the lock-up and 296 tramps lodged and fed.” By the end of its twelfth year the tramp registrations reached a total of 2187. In 1906 there appeared the following item: “The tramp law has been vigorously enforced and

several offenders have been sent to Bridgewater." The picturesque derelicts were on their way out. And the same was true of the even more picturesque bands of gypsies, who occasionally pitched their tents on Bay Road.

Mr. George Bernard Shaw to the contrary notwithstanding, poverty is not a crime. Nor, for that matter is pauperism. This, however, is perhaps a permissible place to refer briefly to the almshouse and subsequent local efforts to provide for the needy. The town farm, including the almshouse, was located at South Amherst center and was purchased in 1838. In 1869 the house was rebuilt, and in 1882, following a fire, it was rebuilt again. The number of residents was never large, and in 1915 the institution was abandoned.

For a decade or so the village eased the lot of its destitute without discomfort or display. When help was needed, it was generally forthcoming from local churches and social organizations. Clothing was procurable from the annual collections of the Needlework Guild, organized in Amherst by Mrs. Hoffman Atkinson in 1926. Then came the panic of 1929 and the subsequent depression during the 1930's. A volunteer relief committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Susan Skillings began to function in 1931. Mrs. John M. Lowe presided over the dispensing of clothing at the town hall. An employment agency established headquarters in the Hills Memorial Clubhouse—a rather inadequate gesture. Public-spirited citizens like Fred Hawley accepted responsibilities in the communal effort to provide relief. The town gave assistance to eighty-eight applicants in 1929 to the amount of \$6,382. Then came social security and special grants, and, in 1934, Selectman F. Civile Pray to administer them. In that year the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was giving Amherst \$5,600 a month, direct relief and the main support of about 130 families. In 1936 fifty-four people were receiving old age assistance and 165 were benefiting from \$44,624 allocated to Amherst by the Works Progress Administration, which succeeded the F. E. R. A., and was in turn to be succeeded by the Public Works Administration. During the decade which ended in 1939 the total sum expended for relief was \$376,419.27, of which the town had raised \$220,156.88, the rest coming from federal and state allotments. This was indeed a far cry from the lock-up and the poorhouse.

From 1892 until 1936 the police force might be said to have been Melvin H. Graves. In 1896, for the first time, it was not designated as "night police and lamps." At this time Graves had twelve unpaid associates, and he himself received \$678. As late as 1910 he was still officially a "watchman." At the time of his retirement there were four regulars on the staff. In 1949 Chief John J. Trainor retired after twenty-six years of service. As of 1957 the department, under the leadership of William A. Engelmann, is composed of ten regulars, and twenty-five volunteers, the latter under the direction of Rollin H. Barrett. It has two cruisers, and new headquarters at the town hall. Each college, also, maintains three or four officers. And always in the background are the ambulatory state police.

Amherst, of course, needs this service, although many of the occasions may seem trivial. Indeed, back in 1865, "a boy by the name of Martin was brought before Justice A. P. Howe one day last week and fined \$5 and costs amounting to about \$10, for swearing." Naturally down through the years there has been theft. Sometimes it has been petty housebreaking by adolescents. Now and then professionals have rifled the dormitories and fraternity houses, usually during a ball game. Automobiles have been "borrowed." There have been a good many fires thought to be incendiary, on one occasion two of them at the same time. There has been disturbance of the peace, generally the spillings-over of restive collegians. But, all in all, the record is not bad.

In 1956 there were 333 arrests, eighty-two of them involving drunkenness. Laws and customs change, but the problem of alcohol is an ancient and persistent one. In early days liquor was a beverage, but also a commodity. It was even a medium of exchange. Drinking was all but universal. To drink too much was little more reprehensible than to eat too much—bad judgment. Between 1759 and 1784 there were twenty-five licensed retailers in Amherst. An inventory conducted by the West Amherst Temperance Union in 1827 indicated eighty hogsheads of "ardent spirits," two hundred barrels of cider, and an indeterminate amount of refreshment dispensed by the taverns. Then the report became personal: "there were forty-eight drunkards in town and twenty-three widows who were made so by rum." Both the nature and the source of these

figures are significant in that they suggest propaganda. Drinking had become a social issue. Perhaps a notation "found among the papers belonging to the late Samuel C. Carter" may command greater respect; this notation said "in 1828 150 hogsheads of rum, gin, and brandy were sold in town." At this time Amherst had about 2500 inhabitants.

In 1828 Rev. Dr. Woodbridge of Hadley visited Amherst for the purpose of establishing chapters auxiliary to the Hampshire Society for the Promotion of Temperance. It is said that he met with encouraging success, "but if societies were organized in Amherst at that time, their records have passed from existence." However the *Inquirer* of that year reported, "We understand that a merchant has opened a store in the village in which no intoxicating liquors will be kept on sale. A public house also has just been opened in which it is designed to try the experiment of accommodating the public without the usual arrangements of a bar." We know, too, that, the year before, ninety-seven college boys took the pledge. We know that the successor of the Rev. David Parsons, who had been criticized as being too fond of his toddy, was a strong-minded dry; and that Land'od Oliver Dickinson, having been persuaded by the North Amherst clergy to conduct the raising of a house without the customary alcoholic refreshments, was embarrassed to have his neighbors bring their own. By 1828 the liquor traffic was being subjected to vehement attack.

By the 1840's the temperance movement was ascendant, and Amherst experienced purgation at the hands of a number of reform clubs, culminating, in 1876, in the Women's Christian Temperance Union, which was active until the passage of the eighteenth amendment, and in 1957 is still in existence. In 1874 the General Court had provided the machinery for local option, and for nearly half a century Amherst voters declared themselves annually, and only twice voted wet. Indeed on one of these two occasions the result was so close that the selectmen granted no licences. The college boys consumed plenty of liquor during these years, but they went out-of-bounds to buy it; they were, as a matter of fact, the temperance people's strongest argument for keeping Amherst dry. The national prohibition law, enacted over President Wilson's veto in 1920, was unrealistic and injudicious, and was re-

pealed in 1933. Since then Amherst has been wet in varying degrees, and the cocktail shaker may be seen upon the sideboards of many a sedate professor or deacon. And excessive drinking, as indicated by the report of our police department, is still a social problem.

There have been in Amherst only six cases of murder. In 1875 a prosperous farmer, Moses B. Dickinson, was hacked to death with an axe and subsequently robbed by a hired man, who was later arrested in Tennessee and hanged in Northampton. In 1887 two Italian workmen on the Massachusetts Central Railroad got into a quarrel and one of them shot and killed the other. In 1890 a young man from Ware, insane with jealousy, killed an Amherst girl, Eva May Holden, and wounded her escort, following a party in Cushman; he was thereafter convicted of murder in the second degree. In 1899 a Kiowa Indian farmhand on the Alice G. Morell farm in South Amherst, having been discharged because of persistent attentions to the daughter, Edith, shot both the girl and himself, and destroyed the entire set of buildings by fire. In 1928 an employee at the agricultural college dining hall, George Chepulis, was killed by a jealous fellow worker. In 1933 there was a murder near Triangle Street, in which both the victim, Timothy L. Diggins, and his assailant were Amherst youths. Diggins was a waiter at Deady's Diner, and the objective was evidently the cash box. The murderer's death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, and in 1954 he was released on parole.

There have been, of course, other acts of violence involving Amherst people, but they have been either less tragic in their outcome or less immediate in their impact. In 1876 a local boy, George H. Bliss, was murdered in Gainesville, Florida. The same year Charles Wiley was shot in a quarrel, but not killed. In 1884 Calvin Jennings, a native of Amherst, was given ten years in state prison for assault and suspected murder in Pittsfield. In 1887 a little girl in East Amherst, Birdie Danahey, disappeared. In 1902 the well-known author, Paul Leicester Ford, grandson of Professor Fowler and great grandson of Noah Webster, was murdered by his brother in New York. In 1911 there was a stabbing at a Polish wedding in North Amherst, but, happily, no manslaughter. The following year, however, a North Amherst Italian was killed in a quarrel,

and another Italian was tried and found "probably guilty" of criminal assault upon his boarding mistress in East Amherst. In 1915 E. Y. Cosby was seriously wounded by an employee who had been laid off from full time. There have been other cases of assault or disappearance, but none of serious criminal import.

The day-by-day chore of the Amherst police has come to be largely the directing of traffic during rush hours and the apprehending of violators of traffic regulations. In 1956 twenty-three hundred drivers received tickets for parking violations. Hardly a day passes but some careless resident journeys over to the Northampton courthouse to pay a nominal fine. During the carnival snow-sculpture weekend at the University in 1954, there were twenty-nine officers on duty, struggling with aesthetic congestion.

When Massachusetts became a state she established a judicial organization not very different from the provincial one which it supplanted. It included: a state supreme court and also county courts of common pleas, of general session of the peace, and of probate. There were also trial justices to handle purely local matters; their function was taken over in 1882 by a district court, and sessions of both this court and that of probate were periodically held in Amherst. In 1875 the probate court was sitting in Amherst five times a year, and in the town hall there is still a room known as the Court Room. The system as of 1957 is not very different: the state supreme court, the state superior court, the county probate courts which sit in different cities but not in Amherst, and a local district court in Northampton.

Amherst lawyers have sometimes practised and even resided in Northampton and elsewhere. Simeon Strong, appointed justice of the peace in 1768, was for the last five years of his life a member of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. His son Solomon was judge in the local court of common pleas. We have a manuscript containing Solomon Strong's lectures dealing with his profession; they were introduced by a quotation: "The reason of the law is the life of the law, for though a man may tell the law, yet if he knowledge."

Amherst was a very much interested party in the famous en-knows not the reason thereof, he shall soon forget his superficial

deavor to break the will of Oliver Smith of Northampton, in 1846. She was not only a potential beneficiary, but some of her lawyers were prominent in the proceedings. In his will Smith had bequeathed his large fortune to charities, and the natural heirs challenged the competence of one of the witnesses. The first judge to hear the case was Ithamar Conkey of Amherst; he allowed the will. An appeal to the Supreme Judicial Court resulted in the spectacular sitting in Northampton, with Rufus Choate representing the complainants and Daniel Webster appearing for the defense. And associated with Webster were the two Amherst men, Osmyn Baker and Charles Delano. The local newspaper reported as follows: "It would be impossible to give our readers a just description of the arguments of Messrs Choate and Webster. Each in his turn, for two hours, held bound with silken cords of their eloquence, a thousand minds." Eventually the Webster team were awarded the decision, and the resultant Smith Charities, which now have invested funds of over two million dollars, have to date dispersed about four and a half million in benefits for young men and women in the Valley towns, of which, of course, Amherst is one.

There have been a good number of other local lawyers: the three Dickinsons—Samuel Fowler, Edward and Austin; Simeon Strong, Jr.; Judge John Dickinson; Lucius Boltwood; John Hammond, president of the Massachusetts Bar Association in 1913; Wolcott Hamlin, the Prohibition Party's candidate for governor in 1892; currently, among others, the town moderator, Winthrop S. Dakin. Hammond, Ithamar Conkey, and the two Keedys, father and son, have been district attorneys. Ebenezer Mattoon was for nearly twenty years high sheriff of Hampshire County. Henry W. Blodgett was for thirty years a United States court judge in Chicago.

In the early part of the twentieth century an outstanding holder of real estate in Amherst was Fred Stone. One of his sons attended the local schools, including both of the colleges, was admitted to the bar, and became, at least officially, the ranking jurist of the nation. For, in 1925, the Republican president, Calvin Coolidge, selected him for the Supreme Court, and, in 1941, the Democratic president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, elevated him to the position of

Chief Justice. The Supreme Court, naturally, has never rendered judgment upon crime and punishment in Amherst. But our village is proud to have made so notable a contribution to law and order in these our United States.

The War to End War

THE people of Amherst were entirely unprepared for August 1914, and not entirely prepared for April 1917.

The western world had been generally at peace for nearly half a century. There had been, of course, sporadic disturbances, incident to the white man's self-assumed responsibility to police the outposts. But international law, albeit a little nebulous, was taken for granted, and the Hague Tribunal was thought to be its adequate instrument. There seemed to be actually such a thing as a nation's being, in Wilson's words, "too proud to fight." The United States at any rate seemed separate and secure. The Atlantic Ocean was still regarded as a formidable moat. Our diminutive standing army was a token of our self-confidence and our faith in the future. The millennium had not really arrived, but it was on its way.

Then, without warning, an Austrian duke was murdered at Sarajevo, repercussions began to rattle, secret treaties were invoked and subsequently revealed, reserves were called to the colors, diplomats were thrown into confusion, and Europe was aflame. For us it was, at first, largely a conflict between Austria and Serbia; ultimately between Germany and England, both of which countries relied on our isolationism and inertia. Even if there had been no rape of Belgium, most Amherst people, unlike those in the Middle West, would have been pro-British. Thus when Wilson, goaded beyond endurance by Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare, and fearful that the tradition of democracy in Europe might, like the *Lusitania*, sink without trace, asked Congress to declare a state of war, we applauded. It was not an act of desperation or of national pride; it was a crusade. The United States would break the trench-dominated stalemate on the French front, and thus be entitled to pre-

scribe the peace. Airplanes, submarines, poison gas, all military innovations wreaking havoc in international law, were demonstrating that modern warfare was indeed unbearable. Thus, the world having been made safe for democracy and democracy established as the only form of civilized government, war would be outlawed forever. The revolution in Russia was reassuring. This struggle would mark the climax of militarism; it was also to be its end.

In that spirit we took up the sword.

M.A.C. was in the middle of its agrarian period, and its inclination was to save democracy by means of food production. Butterfield was by no means a pacifist, but early in 1917 he called to the attention of the Commonwealth's Committee on Public Safety the need of insuring and increasing food resources, and was immediately named chairman of a sub-committee to initiate such a program. This was entirely to his liking, and he undertook the assignment with zest.

It soon became evident that as far as Massachusetts was concerned, Butterfield was right. Transportation, with priority for movement of troops and military supplies, became so tangled that eventually the Government had to take over the railroads. Civilian service became chaotic, and, in 1917, the railroads were still the main arteries of marketing. Moreover the importation of foodstuffs into the United States had already been greatly curtailed. The needs of warring nations in Europe combined with the depredations on shipping meant that we were getting very little from our usual sources of supply. The local program became then: production and preservation of food and conservation of fuel. The home garden became a badge of patriotism. To his weary hands unaccustomed to wrestling with weeds the gardener would whisper, "The army fights on its belly." And the home folk had bellies, too.

In August, while draftees were reporting for physical examinations at Turners Falls, a public canning service was opened in Marshall Hall, and ten years later Amherst families were still eating the tins of beans which in their ardor they had cached in 1917. Housewives began drying apples in their attics, as indeed their grandmothers had been wont to do. Anything edible became a collector's item. Meat was hard to get. In consequence Amherst people were expected to serve a meatless meal every day, no pork on

Saturdays, no meat of any kind on Tuesdays and Fridays. Incredible as it may seem, wheat too was a rarity. Amherst people were expected to serve one wheatless meal every day, and no wheat at all on Mondays and Wednesdays. The shopper could purchase flour only by buying an equal amount of wheat substitute at the same time. Patrons were limited to three pounds of sugar a month, and families hoarded their maple syrup and even honey with miserly secretiveness. The war came into Amherst by way of the market basket.

So Butterfield's program was obvious and popular. His agricultural specialists were mobilized for extension work throughout the state. Even the humanities departments were processed and pressed into action. An English teacher supervised home gardens, a French teacher gave demonstrations in canning, a mathematics teacher organized cooperative markets. The undergraduates, those who were not already in uniform, were farmed out for food production. The Amherst Safety Committee was, at first, made up as follows:

Chairman—Ernest M. Whitcomb
Production—W. P. B. Lockwood
Preservation—Fred C. Sears
Conservation—Mrs. W. N. Morse
Farms—William H. Atkins
Gardens—S. Paul Jefferson
Transportation—John J. O'Connell
Publicity—Ralph H. Waterhouse.

By the first of June, Butterfield could say that ninety-five per cent of his students and fifty-five members of the instructional staff were engaged in emergency work, largely along these lines. Even his campus lawns were plowed under to provide community gardens.

And fuel, which in 1917 for the most part meant coal, presented another problem. The winter of 1917–1918 was itself an act of treason. December averaged over ten degrees below normal, with seven days below zero. The first three days of January maintained a mean temperature below zero. There was also heavy snowfall. In the

second week in February it was five days before the trolleys were able to get through to Northampton. Under these trying circumstances the Amherst householder could purchase coal only if his bin was absolutely empty, and then not over a quarter of a ton. Franklin stoves were set up in numberless sittingrooms, but the only available wood was green and not inclined to burn. Families were urged to consolidate in larger huddles; they certainly did consolidate into closer quarters. Public buildings were frequently closed, to conserve fuel; movies were permitted only twice a week; stores reduced their hours. Indirectly other services were threatened. In April, daylight saving, "dishonest time," was introduced to the discomfiture of parents and the dismay of farmers. Car owners were instructed not to drive on Sundays. In contrast to the shortage of food, there was very little that Amherst people could do about this matter of fuel except watch the thermometer and shiver.

If these deprivations seem trivial in the long light of history, it should be remembered that this is a record of the great war *in Amherst*. There were not the suffering and sorrow experienced during the Civil War, but still the supreme stress was to be found in the scores, in hundreds, of stricken hearts. The sons of Amherst were far afield, some of them in fragile craft upon the perilous seas, some of them in trenches more loathsome and dangerous still. The tragedy of these troubled times cannot be told, but many of our readers remember.

Although systematic efforts were made to compile information regarding Amherst men in service and the display rolls of honor were amended from day to day, the final totals are almost certainly inaccurate and incomplete. The village is credited with: 309 in the armies, forty-six in the navy, seven nurses, four Red Cross workers, four educators, and two Y men. About sixty of the men held commissions. Eleven failed to return.

The college figures, including alumni, were naturally larger, albeit less germane. M.A.C. reported 1304 men in uniform, of whom 446 held commissions and 454 saw action overseas. There were fifty-one deaths. Amherst College reported 1432 men in uniform and thirty-six deaths.

Thus it may be asserted that over three thousand young men, who in high school or college had walked the shaded streets of Amherst and looked out upon the Pelham hills, became soldiers during our rather brief participation in the war to end war. And about one hundred of them gave their lives, ironically as it may seem to us now, in that great endeavor.

Several of our fellow townsmen were decorated for bravery, but none of them took part in really spectacular exploits at the front. Heroism without heroics!

Not all of the hundred who died were killed in battle, or even wounded. During the winter following the bitter one of 1917–1918 came the flu, a malignant and catastrophic incursion from Spain. Unlike the devastation from disease which decimated the 52nd Regiment in the Civil War, this fearsome scourge assaulted civilian and soldier alike. Soldier and civilian in very comparable numbers succumbed. Nearly seven hundred cases were reported in the village of Amherst. There were twenty-five deaths. Even the schools were closed. It seemed like Nemesis.

The pattern at Amherst College was very different from that at M.A.C. The College had only a consumer interest in food, and it normally offered no military instruction. But commencement revealed to the handful of alumni who returned a war-conscious and a consecrated campus. There were present only thirty-five seniors to receive degrees. Two groups of Amherst College volunteers had recently embarked for non-combatant service overseas: one in the American Field Service, the other, the Amherst Ambulance Unit, in the Medical Reserve Corps. Nearly all of the four hundred students in the lower classes were enrolled for an elective course in military training, organized by Lt. Henry W. Fleet of M.A.C. and carried on later by Professors Clarence Eastman, Laurence Parker, and Charles Toll. Academic schedules were revised in order to place emergency matters first, and in January 1918 the Government installed a unit of the Reserve Officers Training Corps. The following autumn it introduced upon both of the college campuses units of the newly instituted Student Army Training Corps, but this program was hardly under way before it was happily interrupted by the armistice and thereafter discontinued.

The homefolk in Amherst did more than garden, worry, and endure. They eliminated German from the local curricula. There was a very active Red Cross, of which Madame Martha Bianchi was chairman, and which, in 1918, had over two thousand members. There were periodic campaigns for the sale of Liberty Bonds; according to Chairman Arthur H. Dakin, our villagers purchased nearly two million dollars worth of these. Nearly sixteen hundred people enrolled for war-saving stamps. There was needlework. During the month of May 1918 our women made: 67 sweaters, 33 mufflers, 203 pairs of socks, 12 helmets, 465 triangles, 765 abdominals, 300 T's, 70 pajamas. Whether or not these proved to be essential to victory, they certainly helped in maintaining morale at home. For the first time, too, Amherst citizens found themselves paying federal and state income taxes, ostensibly "for the duration." There was no doubt in anybody's mind but this was everybody's war.

The armistice, November 11, 1918, brought relief from fear but not entirely from participation. Butterfield embarked for France to help establish at Beaune an A.E.F. University for the benefit of soldiers awaiting transports to bring them home. Lawrence C. Wellington was made Chevalier of the Order of the Crown in recognition of his work with the Hoover Commission for Relief in Belgium. The two colleges resumed academic activities. M.A.C. students and alumni built a memorial social center upon the campus: "We will keep faith with you who lie asleep." Village veterans created a chapter of the American Legion.

Townsmen were sanguine, even buoyant. Ray Stannard Baker was in charge of the press service at the peace conference, where Wilson's fourteen points, the conditions for surrender, were expected to mark a new height in internationalism. Germany, Hungary, Austria were declared republics. We had won a great battle for human freedom. The weather improved. We began to eat for pleasure as well as for survival. We were not prepared for the tragedy at Versailles, or for the deterioration in social decorum which lay waiting just around the corner. Not yet were uneasy idealists beginning to join the chorus which chanted that America, having made the world safe for democracy, must now, somehow, contrive to make democracy safe for the world.

Sportsman's Park

ORGANIZED sport in Amherst may be said to date from 1859. It was in 1859 that Amherst College laid the cornerstone for Barrett Hall, which was almost, but not quite, the earliest building constructed for purposes of physical education in America. And, more romantically, it was in 1859—on the first of July—that Amherst and Williams played their first and most memorable baseball game. Memorable indeed, for this was the very beginning of intercollegiate baseball anywhere.

It was Amherst's idea. She sent up to Williamstown the unprecedented challenge. And Williams accepted it, but with an equally surprising condition: the two colleges were to compete the following day in chess. Amherst won both matches, the former by the spectacular score of 73 to 32. Since then, as of 1957, Amherst and Williams have each won ninety-three baseball games.

History insists upon more detail relative to that earliest intercollegiate baseball game. It took place in Pittsfield—neutral territory. Amherst's aged ex-president Humphrey was among the rooters. "There was an unusually brilliant collection of the beauty of the county." Each team was composed of thirteen players. Each team furnished a ball, home-made so to speak, and a trifle smaller than our tennis ball. But hard! The Amherst one is said to have been made by a blacksmith in Brookfield. Playing began at eleven o'clock and continued until three. There were twenty-six innings. News of the victory was brought to Amherst by courier, and there followed what may have been the earliest athletic celebration of its kind in this country. "Bells were rung and bonfires lighted and few in Amherst slept any more that night."

This then was the genesis.

Intercollegiate competition was still a little slow in getting under way; in part, of course, because of the Civil War. John Burgess, class of '67, has written: "Neither had we any sports at all, no baseball, no football, no tennis, no rowing, no anything of a physical training except the half hour for each class, four days in the week,

in the gymnasium, the 'gym' as we called it, under the direction of Dr. Edward Hitchcock." And Charles H. Parkhurst corroborated: "Amherst at that time [1862-1866] had no athletics, at least none to speak of."

If "Old Doc" Hitchcock did not quite succeed in building the earliest gymnasium, he is accorded absolute priority in organizing a program and department of physical education. These, indeed, antedated his building. He has left us a description of what was going on outdoors pre-Barrett Hall: "The gymnasium in the grove contained about seven or eight pieces of so-called apparatus; one, the 'prince,' was a high timbered frame-like gallows, twenty feet high, with one broad swing, where two men stood and squatted alternately, thus exciting a vibration, after which the dropping as the weight (of the swingers) reached the lowest part of the circle, and rising as the load went up, tended to increase the length of the arc of the circle." Whether or not the reader fully comprehends these intricacies, he must be willing to admit that the contrivance was ingenious. Generally speaking, Hitchcock may be said to have depended largely upon calisthenics as a means of bodily development and anthropometry as a means of checking results. At a time when tuberculosis, the "great white plague," was rampant in New England, he established the ideal of a disease-resisting and robust physique.

His successor, Dr. Paul Phillips, as early as 1904 introduced games into the athletic program, and under Allison Marsh intramural competition has become standard practice. The Hitchcock-Phillips-Marsh succession comprised almost an entire century. Moreover their concept of physical training for everybody, substantially the concept which Curry Hicks brought to M.A.C. in 1911, was educationally attractive and sound. The swinging of a pair of Indian clubs was an art, requiring skill and achieving grace, but the dumbbell was as stupid as its name; there are happier ways of developing strength and coordination. The swimming pools in the village of Amherst, three of them, are a symbol of a sane and salutary philosophy of physical education.

The Burgess and Parkhurst description of athletic aridity during the 1860's is a little misleading. In the spring of 1866, for example, Amherst defeated Brown, Wesleyan and Dartmouth in baseball.

But athletic events were incidental and casual. It was “the velocipede mania . . . in the winter of 1868–69” that suggests the sportsmanship in vogue. “Many of the students spent most of their leisure time in learning to manage this new agent of locomotion, and for a while nothing was talked or thought of but the velocipede.”

A little later both of the local colleges achieved prestige by virtue of superiority in a surprising competition—rowing. The “Aggies” took the lead in this. For, in 1871, in the first regatta of the National Association of American Colleges, held at Riverside, north of Springfield, the Agricultural College entered a crew which outdistanced Harvard and Brown. Meanwhile Amherst had organized a Naval Association, and in the next regatta she also won—over Bowdoin, Harvard, M.A.C., Williams, and Yale. But the local institutions were not conveniently or temperamentally naval. There were no means of ready and rapid conveyance to the Connecticut River. Amherst built a boathouse in Hadley. The Aggie oarsmen are said to have made a practice of running from the campus to their dock, presumably to make themselves even more rugged than they were. Moreover dissension raised its ugly head in the Amherst College Naval Association, and the directors, after a lively all-night hearing, attended by over a hundred students, “impeached” their commodore. Thereafter the aquatic spirit languished, and, except for a recent half-hearted renewal of interest at Amherst College, there have been no shells except one or two preserved as historic relics.

Our first varsity football team, an Amherst College one, was in 1877, but by the turn of the century, football had everywhere become the king of college sports. It had also gotten rather out of hand. The close impact of shoulders and thighs, the experimental nature of the rules of the game, the undisciplined ardor of the players, and, locally, an insurgent independence and a turbulent disaffection as between the two college bodies—all contributed to what threatened to become a serious situation.

The New England tradition that required that every new teacher in the little red schoolhouse must demonstrate physical superiority over his toughest pupil was not yet forgotten. The unruly students at M.A.C. on one or two occasions threw unpopular instructors into the pond. Indeed the class of 1893 lost, and Amherst College

gained, a distinguished member, the great jurist Harlan Stone, who tangled with Prof. Charles Walker in a chapel roughhouse. His expulsion led to a protest strike by the student body, but President Goodell, who is said to have once thrown a recalcitrant youth through a window, proved equal to the occasion. At Amherst College, when the faculty suspended a student for disciplinary reasons, young Stone aroused the undergraduate senate to resist invasion of its natural rights. There developed an acrimonious discord, and, largely out of this, the enforced resignation of President Gates. A decade later M.A.C. seniors took advantage of an *ad interim* president and a factious faculty and stayed away from classes for nearly three weeks. There was something of a spirit of frontier lawlessness abroad in Pioneer Valley.

And, of all games, football lent itself most readily to its expression. It was both rough and unruly. And that this was both a sub- and a supercollegiate manifestation is indicated by the following acrid comments by Editor Morehouse during the season of 1901: "The High School football team played a game on Blake Field Saturday afternoon with a team supposed to represent the high school at South Hadley Falls, but could have represented Hampden County as easily as Hampshire. The amalgamated team, whose players needed personal introductions to each other, won the game 11-0, and the Amherst boys were lucky to escape with their lives." And another: "Football teams representing the Hills Company's and Burnett & Son's hatshops will have it out on Pratt Field tomorrow morning. . . . The medical fraternity are especially urged to come and bring the tools of their trade with them." It is a pleasure to record that no insinuations were made in reporting a game between Mount Pleasant Institute and Amherst Grammar School. Certainly the village was football-minded, but seems to have regarded the game as bruiser recreation.

The colleges offer a more striking illustration of the fact that it was indeed out of violence that our sportsmanship achieved order.

In this same year, 1901, M.A.C. defeated Amherst 5-0 in a game reported as relatively clean. It is of some interest that the Aggie team defeated eight of its nine opponents, and included in its lineup: "Box Car Bill" Munson, who, in 1955, received an honorary degree from his alma mater in recognition of long service as direc-

tor of her extension service; and "Mike" Ahearn, in whose memory Kansas State College, that same year, dedicated a new physical education building.

The following year, however, the intraurban game was objectionably rough, the M.A.C. team being the more culpable. Amherst won, 15-0. The rivalry between the colleges was becoming tinged with rancor. There was a good deal of unpleasant calling of names: "dungies," "Willies." But local antagonism was by no means a full explanation of what was going on on the gridiron. In 1903 Amherst defeated Harvard in a game "described in the Boston papers as characterized by exceptionally rough play." In 1901, after M.A.C. had defeated Holy Cross, an official remarked that the two centers had to be forceably separated after nearly every play: "They fought with their teeth, their fists, their legs, their knees, and everything they had." This M.A.C. center, later to be a minister of Him who prescribed turning the other cheek, was presumably the one who said on another occasion, "I was center and got a dislocation, but had the satisfaction of seeing the Amherst center carried off in a litter."

Umpires at this time were provided by the competing teams and were assumed, if not indeed expected, to be partisan. Years later *Spalding's Football Guide* recalled this feature as follows: "The two umpires discharged their duties like an opposing pair of football lawyers"; it was the function of the referee "to settle disagreements between the umpires." Thus the *Amherst Student*, in reporting the 1902 game with M.A.C., noted as remarkable that "the refereeing of Cutts of Harvard was extremely impartial."

Occasionally ringers were recruited for out-of-town games. Indeed, in that earliest baseball game in 1859, the ineffective Williams batsmen protested that the Amherst "thrower" was such. Civille Pray was once given the opportunity of basking in newspaper praise on the basis of such vicarious performance down in Maine. "Al" Stearns has testified that the Yale Law School won a national championship game over Amherst in this way.

Schedules were tentative; no contract was considered inviolate. Colleges would casually cancel a game if the early season scores indicated that an opponent was either too strong or too weak. In 1891 Amherst and Brown met upon Blake Field, but could not

agree upon officials and consequently called off the match. There is the instance of a Bates team arriving in town to play M.A.C., but because of a dispute over officials going over to the other campus and playing with Amherst instead.

It is against this background that one should examine the crucial Amherst-Aggie football game of 1903. The local paper said: "It wasn't exactly a limited round prizefight," but "after nearly every scrimmage time had to be taken out while the injured were attended to." The *Amherst Student* referred to "much unnecessary roughness which made the game an unpleasant one to watch." The *M.A.C. College Signal* had this to say: "The observer saw his friends do some good straight slugging and the game on the whole was a rough one, but he did not see any of them deliberately walk up and kick an opponent who was down." This unanimity of accusation is significant.

The aftermath is more so. This game, which Amherst won 11-6, would seem to indicate more than what "Kid" Gore has called "the natural growing pains of contact sport"; it seems to indicate bad blood. As the date for the 1904 contest drew near, the responsible officers in both colleges apparently became apprehensive. At the last minute the game was canceled, ostensibly because of failure to agree upon officials. Actually there were no further football games between the two robust rivals for a number of years.

This is not the place to retail the ups and downs of our college and high school teams. Students, alumni, and townsmen all yearn for victories. But, as President Van Meter once reminded his constituency, if over a period of years a college is winning much over half of its games, it is playing out of its class. It is well that the success of an Amherst season is determined by the outcome of games with Wesleyan and Williams in the so-called Little Three league and that of a University season is determined by the outcome of games with other New England land grant institutions in the Yankee Conference.

Amherst has been undefeated in three football seasons, those of 1938, 1942, and 1953. The one in 1942 was the most gratifying. Both Amherst and Williams came up to their final and climactic struggle with perfect records, but on the basis of comparative scores Amherst was the underdog. And Amherst won, 12 to 6. Nor would

this review of Amherst football be complete without a bow to a local boy, John Hubbard, '07, who was chosen as halfback on Walter Camp's All-American team.

The University has never had an entirely victorious football season. Three teams—the Munson-Ahearn one of 1901, the "Kid" Gore team of 1924, and the "Mel" Taube team of 1931—were defeated only once, although there were one or two ties. And Taube's star halfback, Louis Bush from Turners Falls, was national high scorer in 1932.

George Williams' High School football teams won all of their games in 1928, 1929, and 1939; his baseball teams won all of their games in 1941 and 1950. Back in 1902 the High School had a football team that was not even scored on. And in 1914 a High School hockey team reached the finals in a state championship competition in the Boston Arena. Three High School football players achieved captaincies abroad: Charles Toll at Princeton, Victor Butterfield at Cornell, Paul Cramer at Williams.

Although football is the game that most deeply stirs and tries men's souls, there are three other major sports and any number of minor ones. The 1893 Amherst baseball nine, captained by "Al" Stearns, administered three defeats to Williams and as many to Dartmouth, and was runner-up in a national competition at the Chicago World's Fair. John Henry, a local boy, class of 1910, after graduation caught for seven years with the Washington Senators and one with the Boston Braves. During the seasons of 1929 and 1930 Amherst won twenty-six out of thirty-one baseball games, including no-hit victories over Williams and Princeton.

The University's outstanding baseball period was the Earl Lorden 1954–1955 seasons, in the first of which she was New England champion in the National Collegiate Athletic Association tournament, and in the second of which she was runner-up. Unquestionably the great moment of all was during the 1955 commencement game on the University's campus, when, with the score a tie and the bases full, her crack pitcher, Tarpey, won his own game against Amherst by knocking out a "grand slam" home run.

One of the chief bonds of intimacy between Robert Frost and President "Ted" Lewis of M.A.C. was their interest in baseball. Lewis had been the ranking pitcher for the Boston Nationals, and

for one year had shared the box of the Boston Americans with the fabulous "Cy" Young. Because he would not play on Sunday, he was known by his teammates as "Parson." Among his collegiate competitors while at Williams was Amherst's "Al" Stearns, who was designated all-American second baseman in 1894 and was said to have turned down attractive offers from the major leagues.

Probably our most significant contribution to basketball has been "Kid" Gore's Western Massachusetts Small High School Tournament, initiated in 1928, and, for the most part, managed by "Kid's" adept and genial associate, "Larry" Briggs. Gore, whose summer camp in Vermont is a happy memory for many of our local boys, was concerned for the welfare of what he regarded as the rather "forgotten" small town schools. This elimination competition was for them, and was supplemented by rivalry in the realm of posters, essays, music. Moreover there has been an almost religious emphasis upon clean sportsmanship. Amherst High School won the championship in 1950 and in 1958. The public have supported these contests with enthusiasm. The average attendance for the week of competition has been 10,000 fans. Indeed the absent-minded professor who undertakes to go back to his office on a tournament evening can seldom find a place to park.

College track meets may almost be classified as closet drama. When a resident sees a serious-visaged boy doggedly pumping his way along East Pleasant Street, he knows what it means, but he does not cheer. The boy, however, is probably helping to win one of "Lew" Derby's century of cross-country victories. All in all, Amherst's record in track is more impressive than that of the University, and perhaps reached its peak in 1935 when "Al" Lumley's team won all five of its dual meets.

Of course the colleges have made notable contributions in soccer, tennis, and the like, but the sports which have been mentioned above are those in which the villagers have been most interested.

That the College and the University were able to resume football relations after World War One was largely due to the fact that men like Hicks and Butterfield, Cornelius J. Sullivan, and Meiklejohn were dedicated to the conviction that athletics are educational and a major responsibility. President Meiklejohn, with his flair for dramatizing an issue, warned against a kind of commercialization

as expressed in excessive publicity, inflated budgets, stadia, long trips. His solution was Utopian—"athletic disarmament." He proclaimed that "our national vice of overadministration has . . . robbed games of their proper character." The teams "should be managed by undergraduates, coached by undergraduates, and played by undergraduates." Meiklejohn, the radical, was never encouraged to put his ideas into effect, but his pronouncements made the reform program of the liberals seem almost conservative. Sullivan's Athletic Committee of the newly created Amherst College Alumni Council proposed doing away with imported seasonal coaches and replacing them with athletic instructors on the faculty. In 1922 eleven New England colleges, including the two in Amherst, adopted the recommendation.

This policy did not, of course, prove to be a panacea, and in 1955 Lumley was campaigning, in a way, for further reforms by inter-collegiate agreement. It did, however, do a great deal to keep our local colleges upon a high sportsmanship level. The lifelong leadership of the coaches already mentioned, together with perhaps a score of others, men like "Dick" Nelligan, "Tug" Kennedy, Paul Eckley, "Sid" Kauffman, and Warren McGuirk, has been, for the most part, a gratifying justification of the innovation of 1922. By the same token, we are deeply indebted to George Williams, who, for thirty-four years, provided a comparable athletic direction at the High School. The scandals of 1903 are not likely to recur. Some of the most effective teaching in Amherst has been found on the playing fields.

Whether sport in the idealistically Meiklejohn sense of the word will ever again be spontaneous is doubtful. The "overadministration" which he deplored is idealistically American and has seeped down even into the sandlots. Boys may still play one'o'cat, but the chances are that it is under adult supervision. Our Little League and our Babe Ruth League for youngsters, with a "ball park," professional nomenclature, occasionally publicized batting and fielding averages, press notices, and pictures, would seem to be a case in point. But if something has been lost, much certainly has been gained. The Amherst Boys Club, fathered by Ernest Whitcomb, and directed at first by "Tug" Kennedy and since 1946 by "Steve"

Hamilton, has rendered a service which in many communities is associated with the Y.M.C.A. The clubhouse, which was made available in 1922 and renovated in 1946, is headquarters for much wholesome recreation for the Girls Club as well as for the boys. As of 1956 there were 265 paid-up members of the Boys Club. The Boy Scout and the Girl Scout organizations are about a decade older and are in some ways even more significant. The 4-H clubs are older still, having been started in 1908 by William R. Hart, and being part of an extensive agricultural youth movement, presided over in Massachusetts by an Amherst resident, State Leader George L. Farley, known lovingly as "Uncle George" not only locally but throughout the country. There have been, since 1906, interchurch leagues, and there has been for several years an opportunity for supervised swimming and tennis on both campuses. The first youth hostelry in Amherst was opened by Mr. and Mrs. Ben Cummings in 1936. Thus, even when the avowed objective is not educational, the ideal of a strong body developed by play is being variously maintained in various quarters of our Sportsman's Park.

Organized sport means equipment. Barrett Hall (1859) was the earliest building. Since then Amherst College has provided Blake Field (1877), Pratt Gymnasium (1883), Pratt Field (1890), Hitchcock Field (1912), Alumni Gymnasium (1935), Memorial Field (1945), together with swimming pools, skating rinks, and squash courts—an impressive physical plant. At the University there have been: Alumni Field (1915), Curry S. Hicks Physical Education Building (1931), a women's physical education building (1958), together with a converted drill hall, distributed playing fields, a swimming pool, and some up-to-date tennis courts.

If elaborate equipment and expert guidance are essential for the collegians, something comparable would seem in order for the local boys and girls, particularly in view of the growing residential congestion throughout the village and the new perils on the streets. Boy life in Amherst as experienced by "Al" Stearns, when youngsters roamed at large, convened in convenient attics and barns, and initiated their own diversions, has become only a dim memory among the elderly. Thus the Boys Club house was a "must," and

the gymnasium innovations at the High School in 1936 were in line of progress. There is also a gymnasium in the 1956 regional high school building.

Equally important have been outdoor accommodations. Of course every schoolhouse has had a play area, but public-minded citizens had something more extensive in mind. In 1934 Ulysses G. Groff presented the town with fourteen acres at Mill Valley as a picnic ground. It was thought that this would provide excellent opportunity for summer bathing. But our health officers condemned Fort River as unsanitary, and in 1952 an article to dam it into a pool failed to carry. Although the area offers certain recreational conveniences, its ultimate utilization is still uncertain. Meanwhile, in 1939, Selectman Pray brought about the purchase, from the C. R. Elder estate and from Amherst College, of a field for outdoor sports north of Triangle Street, and in 1946 the town spent \$13,500 for the first of a series of improvements. Community Field was referred to, at first, as a playground for youngsters, but, although it has a wading pool for the tots, it has now become primarily an athletic field for teams. The addition of the Stanisiewski farm in 1947 provided space for schoolhouse sites and also more recreation, including a swimming pool, in which 11,989 bathers found refreshment and diversion during the month of June 1957.

Amherst has always had a proprietary interest in Camp Anderson at Lake Wyola. It was originated, and has to date been directed, by Rev. Herbert Dixon of Leverett, but it has been staunchly supported, particularly in matters financial, by John A. Hawley. In 1944 it was incorporated, four of the seven incorporators being Amherst people. It enrolls annually between two and three hundred boys and girls, many of them from Amherst.

In 1927 Amherst participated in a state-wide referendum to permit Sunday sports. The vote was 278 to 233, but there have been to date virtually no admission contests on Sunday.

It must be granted that, for the most part in recent years, Amherst adults have been taking their sportsman exercise inertly, if not always comfortably, on the bleachers. There was for over half a century, however, a Rod and Gun Club; in 1889, five years after its organization, C. B. Adams was reported as having held its pen-

nant "for several years." The Norwottuck Fish and Game Association dates from 1917. Always, in season, there have been hunters and fishermen. And always, regardless of season, there have been hikers, with outing clubs upon both campuses. Presidents Pease and Van Meter were in their prime exasperatingly tireless on a mountain trail, the latter having been immortalized in song for "that ungodly stride." An Amherst native, President Stone of Purdue, lost his life in the Canadian Rockies, while attempting to climb a hitherto unconquered peak. President Meiklejohn, even in his seventies, was a formidable contender on a tennis court. Mary Freeman Kelly, who spent most of her girlhood in Amherst, was a member of an Olympic swimming team. Few of his casual acquaintances realized that Richard Nelligan had a varied and notable athletic history: record-holder for the nautical mile, walking champion for New England, national runner-up in fencing; that he "boxed frequently with Jake Kilrain, both before and after that famous fighter went 72 rounds, bare knuckles, with John L. Sullivan." Of late there has been considerable interest in volleyball and badminton. In 1900 a "Country Club" was organized "for the encouragement of athletic exercise," and laid out a golf course and tennis courts at Mount Doma. But in 1905 it relinquished its occupancy to a girls school. The present Amherst Golf Club dates from 1911, and has lured to its scenic slopes a goodly company of town and gown.

Recently your annalist was accosted by a stranger who wished to be directed to "the stadium." "Which college do you have in mind?" "Neither; the high school." His inquiry suggests a twofold corruption: that of a word, which, traditionally has connoted something massively impressive; and that of a concept of high endeavor, which traditionally has meant the amateur code. It has been in the light of this gracious concept that the lively and engaging rivalries of recent years have stirred the hearts of contestants and spectators in this, our village. The 1957 announcement from the University, however, that it proposes to recruit athletic talent by means of substantial "grants-in-aid" has for some of us disquieting implications. Does it forecast the lengthening shadow of a stadium upon the sunny playing fields of Sportsman's Park?

Still Another War

AMHERST entered World War Two with no fireworks of patriotism. There was no talk here, or for that matter anywhere, about honor, either national or personal. There was no blueprint for a postwar Utopia. The war was accepted with a kind of dogged stoicism as a struggle for survival. The Roosevelt-Churchill Four Freedoms, two of them “of” and two of them “from,” served as a sort of slogan, but would not stand much thoughtful or hopeful analysis. Conscription came early. Combat was mechanized. Cavalry officers, including most graduates from the University’s R.O.T.C., converted from horses to tanks. More than ever there was need for courage, resourcefulness, endurance. But this was a totalitarian undertaking, and at least three of the four freedoms were considerably compromised, even in Amherst, “for the duration.”

By March 1938, Hitler’s panzers were on the move. On September 30 he accepted an iniquitous blank check at Munich, and proceeded to cash in on it at the expense of neighbor states. It was not until September 1939 that Great Britain and France declared war against him. But France buckled and collapsed, and, on June 4, 1940, Great Britain salvaged what she could in the audacious withdrawal at Dunkirk. Germany was arrogantly dominant on land, under water, in the air. With sadistic barbarism rampant behind her expanding lines, it seemed that only stouthearted Churchill stood between civilization and catastrophe. America, and incidentally Amherst, looked on miserably, awaiting the inevitable overt act.

But when it came, on December 7, 1941, at Pearl Harbor, we were stunned, and then catapulted, as it were, into action. From this time until the intrepid and liberating invasion on D-Day, followed soon by the massive naval victory at Leyte Gulf, and ultimately by the shocking and earth-shaking dissolution of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945,—Amherst was not a campus but a camp. Everyone took the war in stride with a kind of grim fortitude, but it did not seem so much like a challenging crisis as a joyless but inescap-

able new kind of existence. The three-year period of conditioning was in some ways more significant in Amherst than what followed. But the fighting itself lasted over twice as long as it did in World War One, and almost as long as it did in the Civil War. Both physically and spiritually it was an exhausting ordeal.

There was, to begin with, civilian discomfort.

Many of the necessities of life were scarce. Early in 1942 a Rationing Board was on duty all day. There were four panels: A. tires, bicycles, typewriters; B. foods; C. gas and oil; D. price control. The ration book became prerequisite to daily living, and 8726 people, including a ten-hour-old baby, were registered for sugar coupons in June. Druggists were harassed by the run on their scanty supplies of saccharine. As of January 1, 1943, stamp #11 would entitle the holder to three pounds of sugar through March 15; stamp #17 to a pair of shoes through June 15; stamp #25 to one pound of coffee through March 21. Austerity became an unwritten law in every family. In May 1942 gas rationing cards had been issued to 1755 persons; in July to 1540 more. Those requiring automobiles in line of duty were allowed more gas than others. In case of emergency one might apply for an extra gallon or so. Some people found themselves relearning to walk. Housewives would team up for shopping excursions to the center of town. Chairmen of the Rationing Board were, successively: Ernest Bolles, Roy Cutting, Clarence Eastman. There were some abuses of course. In June 1943 the local police reported 117 Amherst residents charged with non-essential driving. The word *essential* required redefinition.

Conservation was various. Householders were urged to convert from oil back to the coal which they had been urged to discard during World War One. Collections of all kinds were taking place. One of these, in June 1942, yielded 13,500 pounds of scrap rubber. Another, conducted by school children, yielded over half a ton of fats. Another yielded fifteen tons of paper. Another, conducted by the Rotary Club, yielded ten tons of secondhand clothing. Tin cans were beaten flat and turned in. Many Amherst people experienced for the first time the kind of saving which the poor of Europe have practised for years as a matter of course. Chairmen of salvage committees were: L. V. Chandler, Philip H. Smith, Leon A. Shumway.

Always there were calls for other contributions. A Red Cross drive in 1944 netted \$10,525; a drive for British war relief brought in about \$900; one for Chinese relief over twice as much. Fred Hawley reported overall sales of defense bonds and war saving stamps as \$12,363,000. A United Services Organizations social center for soldiers in the Grace Church parish house, under the supervision of Mrs. Ralph C. Williams, clocked nearly 2400 visitors during the month of August 1943. There was sewing of course: garments, surgical dressings, some sweaters. Blood banks made their appearance. Amherst people participated in every new effort as wholeheartedly as though it were the first.

Moreover the town was mobilized for civilian defense under a series of chairmen: Fred Hawley, George F. Cramer, George H. Jenkins, Floyd A. Thompson. Dr. Thomas F. Sullivan was in charge of an elaborate system of airplane spotting, with stations at both ends of town maintaining unbroken vigilance by day and night throughout the war. Moreover the town was alerted for actual aerial attacks, and there were air raid drills and blackout tests, one of the latter being adjudged ninety-five per cent effective. The chief air raid wardens were: Paul Eckley, Raymond T. Parkhurst, Guy V. Glatfelter. Fleets of automobiles were commissioned, by Harold Elder's committee, to take the road for evacuation service either out of or into Amherst. Citizens enrolled in first-aid classes, nutrition classes, and the spectacular Civilian Protection Schools. Practically all of the Amherst adults and many of the children were taking an active part in helping to win the war. They provided an impressive demonstration of what was coming to be known as "total warfare."

Both of the campuses, moreover, became military training grounds. Early in 1942 Amherst College became host to the War Department's protection school mentioned above, with an instruction post on South Pleasant Street. Classes were limited to fifty and ran for ten days. People, many of them defense officials, all in all 1450 of them, came from towns in all parts of the Connecticut valley. Casual onlookers were enlightened, and awed, and not altogether reassured. The College undertook to carry on an academic program, but, although a summer course was offered to promote

acceleration, student enrollment in 1943 shrank to 155 and the graduating class to thirteen. Fraternity life and campus activities were suspended. But the campus was crowded as never before; for some nine hundred inductees were stationed here to receive training, as follows: a Navy pre-flight school utilizing the airfield at Turners Falls; a year's program called Pre-Meteorology C for potential "weather men"; a course for some 350 enlisted men preparing to enter West Point; and an Army unit receiving instruction in "area and language."

These young men were on duty fifteen hours a day. "Everywhere could be heard the regular beat of military bands and drum corps, the bugle notes of reveille and retreat, the ship's bells sounding the hours in the Navy quarters in the Phi Kappa Psi house, and the sharp staccato of officers' commands." The last military group to be withdrawn left the campus June 16, 1946. The College had received 2929 soldiers and sailors for training in these military courses. And almost the same number of Amherst College men, students and alumni, had also been in uniform. Of this number eighty-eight lost their lives and are now eloquently memorialized by a granite circle embedded into the southern rim of the inner campus and overlooking the playing fields, and visited soon after its dedication by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

A somewhat different drama was enacted on the other campus. There the dominant unit was the 58th Battalion, "The Singing 58th," with a maximum enrollment of eight hundred. This was in residence from July 1943 until the end of the following year. The period of training was five months, but with periodic turnovers of personnel, each squadron having 150 men. The daily discipline included: basic military, physical conditioning, academic studies, and flying at the Westfield airport. Lewis, Thatcher, and Adams Houses were converted into barracks. The commanding officers were Capt. Dewey W. Couri and, later, Capt. Richard J. Congleton.

Throughout this period there were also about an equal number of civilian students, but almost all of them girls. They roomed in Butterfield House and in nine of the fraternity houses. Most of the time they were off-limits to the soldiers, but they were never en-

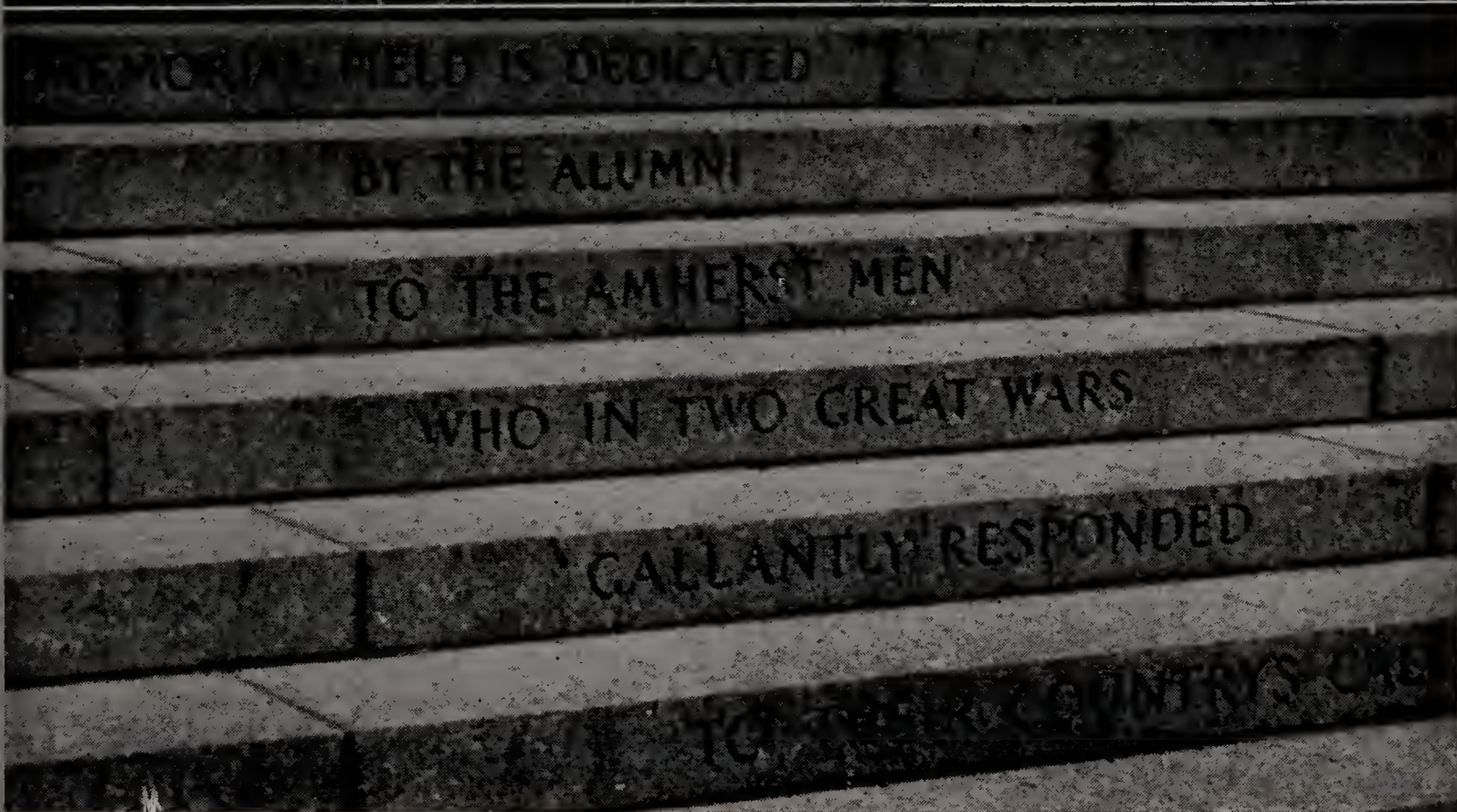
tirely out of sight or out of mind. The girls operating the chow-line at Draper Hall sometimes functioned as social agents in arranging irregular dates. Forty-four members of the faculty were in the armed forces; the others found themselves teaching on a six-day, twelve-month basis, including even such traditional holidays as Thanksgiving. Many of them were assigned to unfamiliar classrooms: for example, an English instructor teaching physics, and another lecturing on the history of military strategy; a German instructor helping to toughen the cadets in "P.T."; a Pomology man conducting exercises in first-aid; an Education man teaching mathematics.

The 58th was the major operation. But over a period of three years there were sixty-eight graduates of a Civilian Pilot Training program, which started in 1939. For eight months, in 1944–1945, there were 350 seventeen-year-olds in an Army Specialized Training Reserve under the direction of Capt. Winslow E. Ryan, an alumnus. There was also the ESMDT (Engineering, Science, and Management Defense Training), conducted by Prof. Christian Gunness for civilians in industry. Throughout the summer of 1943 units of two hundred Airborne Combat Engineers trekked from Westover Field to the University's rifle range for a week's practice in marksmanship. They could be heard plodding through South Amherst at two A.M. on Sunday mornings.

The University compiled records of over 2100 four-year undergraduates and alumni in the various armed services. The Stockbridge School data are less definite. The roll of honored dead included eighty four-year men, thirty-eight Stockbridge, and one member of the faculty.

The village records reached a total of 826. There were ten families that had three or more members in uniform, those of: Erwin S. Fulton, Guerard H. Hawkins, William W. Kimball, David W. Lauder, Joseph P. Pelis, Harry E. Robinson, Paul A. Strange, Charles H. Toll, Henry G. Wentworth, Joseph Wziontka. Not one of these names, it so happens, appears on a list of the dead. In our complex and shifting society all lists, of course, are inexact. The town's official memorial honor roll included fifteen names. The high school's, eleven of these and eight others. The two rolls were

The Amherst College War Memorial, 1946



Its Inscription



Barnes

The Wildner Reception on the Common

based upon somewhat different personnel. Both of them were longer than that of World War One; but the longer of them was only one-third as long as that of the Civil War.

These statistics of town and college boys, and, for that matter, girls as well, together with those of the Army and Navy men assigned to the two colleges for special training, although not altogether accurate, do emphasize the fact that Amherst was party to a new and terrible kind of warfare—mass warfare—total warfare—warfare that benumbs but also appals. Amherst was not a battleground, but the community was, to all intents and purposes, a militarized zone. The inhabitants of Amherst were, in large measure, actively engaged.

She did enjoy one occasion of martial exaltation. Out of her mass effort there emerged one instance of personal, romantic, and heroic achievement. It was in connection with General Doolittle's audacious bombing of Tokyo on April 18, 1942. His carrier, the *Hornet*, having been sighted by the enemy seven hundred miles off the coast of Japan, his planes, sixteen B-25's, took off on a one-way mission, depending upon crash landings in China. A dramatic reply to Pearl Harbor and almost coincident with the surrender of Corregidor, this action was somehow an assurance of ultimate victory, and electrified both nations. And the navigator of the second of the Doolittle planes to take off was Lt. Carl R. Wildner of Amherst. When, in August 1943, he came home on leave, impressively decorated with tokens of bravery, the citizens and the 58th Battalion assembled on the village green to bid him welcome. President King, Director Fred J. Sievers, and John Lentz, president of the Amherst Rotary, spoke words of tribute, and Carl told the boys of the 58th a little as to what lay ahead for them. That sunny afternoon was Amherst's day of glory.

Another Amherst native to achieve distinction was Jerauld Wright, commander of the cruiser *Santa Fe* in 1944, and in 1954 made commander-in-chief of the Atlantic Fleet.

Several of the University staff heard President Eisenhower speak at a gathering of land grant college officials in Washington in 1954. The experienced and victorious general declared flatly that force of arms can never insure a nation or a world against war. It may, as indeed currently it had, provide a breathing spell, to give the

educators of all kinds a further opportunity to devise and declare a peaceful way of life. Amherst surely participated, patriotically and effectively, in bringing to pass this breathing spell. Her greater opportunity and obligation, however, still lie ahead.

Democracy in Action

THAT most democratic of legislative assemblies, the New England town meeting, dates in Amherst from the establishment of the precinct in 1735. There may have been, even in that day, however, liberals who wondered just how democratic a democracy can be. The warrants were addressed to "all freeholders and other inhabitants of said precinct who are qualified by law to vote." This, of course, did not mean universal suffrage, even at the masculine level, and, for many years, to vote was not to exercise a right so much as to enjoy a privilege. The 1800 census indicated the population of Amherst as 1358; the list of voters in 1802 was 215. "Down to the American Revolution, 1775, the voters in Boston were in proportion to the population not more than one-third of the adult men." In 1803 the Amherst vote for governor was 189, and, at another meeting, for Congressman only 96. In 1865 Amherst had 3413 inhabitants, 635 of them being children; the legal voters numbered 728. Thus it can be seen that, largely because of restriction, but partly because of inertia, the functioning electorate in Amherst for many years was a small minority of the population.

There were fine and varying distinctions in regard to suffrage, particularly during colonial days: for example, as between "free-men" and "freeholders," or as between colonial and local affairs. But, in general, by 1735 when our history begins, the qualifications had come to be in terms of property. We have seen how, following the Revolution, when the question regarding the division of the town became most acute, certain citizens deeded token real estate to their sons in order to make them eligible to vote. In 1821 the Massachusetts constitution was amended to provide suffrage for "every male citizen paying a poll tax except paupers and persons

under guardianship." After 1857 voters were required to be able to read.

The agitation for suffrage for women goes further back than many realize. In Boston "women property owners were allowed to vote under the old Province Charter from 1691 to 1780 for all elective officers." In 1776 Abigail Adams, for whom a University dormitory is named, was writing to her statesman husband: "In the new code of law I desire you would remember the ladies . . . Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could." It was not until 1879, however, over a century later, that women in Amherst were permitted to vote and then only for school committee. The first woman actually to cast such a ballot was Mrs. Merrick Marsh, and her vote helped to elect to the school committee Mrs. Mary E. Stearns, but that lady, in spite of her professional interest in education for girls, was a dedicated antisuffragist, and declined the honor. For the record, reference should be made to the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women, the Amherst Branch numbering 267. It was Mrs. Mary B. Boyd, who, in 1893, served as the first woman on the school committee. Four years later the local weekly noted that "only one woman availed herself of the privilege of voting for candidates for school committee. "In 1921, however, equal suffrage became the law of the land. And in 1954 Mrs. L. Robert Mannheim became the first woman to be elected selectman.

This, then, would seem to be democracy ascendant: the electorate being gradually expanded from a group of orthodox and propertied heads of households to nearly the entire adult population, and the Australian ballot adding a protective element in 1889. There was, however, a fly in the ointment—the town's auditorium. The auditorium, for some reason, failed to expand with the electorate. With three thousand registered voters (and by 1956 the number has become 4647), there just were not enough seats. Moreover the warrants had been expanding, too, and the process of legislation was becoming consequently more exacting. Thus, in 1935, the town fathers, under the leadership of Moderator Clarence Eastman, turned their thoughts toward representative government. The innovation would provide immediately for six precincts, which

should elect for three-year terms one delegate for every twenty voters. If legislation by these delegates, except as it might provide for expenditures of less than \$5,000, for emergency measures, or for one or two procedural matters, should prove unpopular, two hundred petitioners could demand and secure a referendum by the entire electorate of the town. Moreover any voter might attend the meetings of the delegates and take part in the discussions from the floor.

It seemed like a good idea, and in November the village voted to ask the General Court for permission to make the change. This action, of course, did not commit the town to actually making it. Thus, the permission having been duly secured, the voters in 1936 refused to go along with the proposal by a vote of 856 to 837. Some of them were sensitive to the fact that it was, in a way, a retrenchment in terms of New England democracy; others were just cautious. But the excitement died down, and two years later a smaller number of voters than either the opponents or the proponents in 1936 were instrumental in writing representative government into the by-laws of the town. And in 1939 the duly elected delegates, 147 men and 24 women, met for their first legislative encounter. As the electorate became larger, the assemblies automatically became larger, too, and in 1958 the town took steps toward keeping the latter down by modifying the one-to-twenty ratio. Whether or not this form of government is really less democratic than that which it supplanted, it is probably less garrulous and certainly more efficient. If it is sometime to be further changed, it will not be in the direction of the old-fashioned, free-for-all, debating forums of our fathers.

Amherst's earliest business meeting, October 8, 1735, elected a moderator, a clerk, assessors, a tax collector, three *ad hoc* committees, and voted to hire a minister for six months and build a meetinghouse. When she became a district in 1759, her responsibilities and therefore the number of her officials increased. From 1774 until 1858 she sent a representative to the General Court, her first one being Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr. Thereafter she became part of an electoral district with Granby and Pelham, to which, by 1957, have been added Belchertown and Ware, for purposes of such representation. In 1780 she cast her first votes for governor and

other state officers. In 1792 she voted for presidential electors. In this same year Simeon Strong became her first state senator. In 1800 Ebenezer Mattoon became her first member of Congress.

Our earliest town officer, then, was a moderator, twenty years after a colonial act had created the office and empowered any incumbent to impose fines upon citizens speaking without having been recognized by the chair. For nearly two centuries each meeting elected its own moderator, the election being not only a tribute to his proficiency, but also a sort of token of esteem. Thus in 1737 there were six precinct meetings and five different moderators. During the Revolutionary War period there were fifty-four meetings and fourteen different moderators. Most frequently, until their patriotism had become suspect, these were Josiah Chauncey or Simeon Strong. In the first half of the following century the most popular presiding officers were: General Mattoon, Dr. Gridley, and Hon. Osmyn Baker. From 1847 until 1874 the man selected was almost invariably Ithamar Conkey. After that it was likely to be Austin Dickinson.

It must be obvious that, as warrants became longer and the gatherings larger, the task of the moderator also became more exacting. He was expected not only to know and apply parliamentary law, but to interpret state and local law, to protect the town against misadventure, to appoint important committees. In brief, he needed to be a specialist. Thus, beginning in 1905, the election of George B. Churchill became virtually routine, except as occasionally resurgent Democrats might rally their meagre forces for the early morning opening of town meeting, hoping thereby to catch their rivals off guard. This procedure of electing a moderator at the beginning of each meeting to legitimize balloting for other officers prior to a consideration of the warrant in the afternoon, was both antiquated and inconvenient; therefore, in 1917, the moderator's term of office was made annual and added to the ballot. In 1925 Congressman Churchill was succeeded by Clarence Eastman, who served for twenty-two years, and was, in 1949, succeeded, in turn, by Winthrop S. Dakin.

The same sort of readjustments was meanwhile taking place in regard to the town's executive committee—the selectmen. This committee dates from the establishment of Amherst as a district.

In 1759 she elected five, four of them Dickinsons. Since then, as of 1957, 193 citizens have assumed this onerous duty, for the most part without compensation. Their obligations, like those of the moderator, increased from year to year. With a maintenance budget soaring well over a million dollars, town government was becoming big business, and town governors required not only good judgment but experience. They, too, were becoming specialists. Thus three of our recent selectmen were chosen and served continuously as follows: Albert Parsons of North Amherst for fourteen years, Civile Pray of the Center for twenty, William H. Atkins of South Amherst for thirty-five. Moreover, Pray, who was chairman of the board for nineteen years, also took charge of certain welfare services, and thus became essentially The Executive of the town. He was, however, growing old and there was impending a state ruling disassociating town government and local welfare. Thus the village paper, on January 23, 1947, spread an editorial across its front page under the headline "Amherst Needs Town Manager."

Although turning the administration of the town over to an outsider did considerable damage to the tradition of New England democracy, still other towns were doing it and it seemed to make sense. So the representatives talked it over and appointed a committee, which in turn talked it over and recommended more committee, which, in 1949, talked it over and conducted forums. In 1951 a state legislative committee held a hearing in Amherst, and thereafter approved a permit by virtue of which Amherst was authorized to refer the matter to the voters for decision.

The decision, in February 1951, was No. The vote stood 1055 to 715, and was so decisive that the proponents did not dare reopen the question in 1952. But in 1953 they tried again, and this time by a margin of thirteen votes and with 104 of those present abstaining, they were successful. It was a close call, but it was enough. 'Twould serve.

Thereupon the town elected a board of five selectmen to act as directors, its chairman being Robert D. Hawley, who had recently retired as treasurer of the University. And this board employed Allen L. Torrey to become the first town manager.

The manager is authorized to "supervise and direct the administration of all departments, commissions, boards, and offices, except

the board of selectmen, the moderator, the finance committee, the school committee," and three or four minor ones. He may "reorganize, consolidate, or abolish such," or establish new ones. He appoints and may remove most town officials other than those excepted above. On the other hand, the selectmen, by majority vote, may remove him. This concentration of authority, like representative legislation, would seem to be a step away from the traditional idea of democracy and a step toward greater efficiency in operation.

Meanwhile the secretarial duties, so to speak, were also becoming more intricate. During almost the entire period of our precinctship our records were kept, laconically, by John Nash. In 1828 the office of town clerk was combined with that of treasurer. The day of the specialist was drawing near. During the middle of the nineteenth century Samuel C. Carter held the office for thirty years. Beginning with 1896, Charles H. Edwards served for fifteen, then Thomas W. Smith for eighteen, then Mrs. Elizabeth W. Hooker for twenty.

And while the key positions have become more and more technical, the number of positions has likewise increased. It is no small task to administer a town like Amherst in 1957.

The village, as distinct from the colleges, has also made some contribution to political life in a wider area. A dozen men, either born in Amherst or for several years a resident, have become members of Congress, albeit five of them represented states other than Massachusetts. Gideon Lee was mayor of New York City, and Silas Wright governor of New York State. Edward Dickinson was fatally stricken while addressing the Senate of the Commonwealth on behalf of the proposed Central Massachusetts Railroad.

Politically Amherst has tended toward the conservative: Federalist, Whig, post-war Republican. In 1893 an Amherst College junior, Harlan Stone, became chairman of the town's Republican committee. But when, in 1912, Theodore Roosevelt disrupted the Republican party, Amherst cast 334 votes for the Democrat, Wilson; and since that time, although overwhelmingly Republican in state and local politics, she has been far from predictable in national elections. Interestingly, the two United States senators, as of 1957, to whom she can lay any claim, Douglas of Illinois and Sy-

mington of Missouri, the former a three-year resident, the latter a native, are both Democrats.

Legislation by majority vote implies a minority, and in a village like Amherst the margin of difference may be very small. The results as effecting both modifications in our form of government, and, more strikingly, those which have to do with the building of schoolhouses and the purchase of the water works, indicate how closely the Yeas and the Nays have been frequently matched. Your annalist recalls casting the deciding ballot against a candidate, having been actuated only by the fact that said candidate, otherwise unknown to him, had made a purely political appearance at a church men's group the Sunday before election. Thus opinions clash and legislation frequently fails to provide a decisive judgment. Nevertheless, certainly within recent years, the disappointed minority have not attempted to nullify or embarrass the outcome.

As local government has become more involved and therefore more indirect, the question is sometimes raised as to who really exert the determinative influence. Who, after all, really run the town? A recent survey indicated that, whereas faculty people constituted only six per cent of the street list, they provided thirty-two per cent of the representatives. The farmers have always looked askance at the more numerous villagers. Occasionally disgruntled people have pointed an accusative finger at the Chamber of Commerce, the banks, and of course now and hereafter, the town manager. The political party organizations are relatively inactive so far as town meetings are concerned; indeed since 1947 the customary caucuses have been conducted on a nonpartisan basis. Perhaps the League of Women Voters, organized in 1940, is the most active governmental group in town, perhaps the most influential, seeking a greater and more intelligent participation, directly by the women but indirectly by their men folk too. Public hearings and panel discussions have long been a feature of Amherst's effort to be truly democratic.

There have been a good many ballots cast in Amherst in the last 225 years; there has been many a debate, many a compromise. The town meeting has been, and continues to be, a symbol. Year after year the citizens have assembled to talk things over, under the watchful eye of their moderator. There have been loquacious



Lovell

The Village Green, 1889



eccentrics, who unconsciously have provided a bit of levity. There has been impassioned oratory. The voters have sometimes devoted half an hour to a discussion of the merits of a particular street lamp, and then appropriated the money by acclamation. There have been wit and astute analysis and conscientious decisions. If the local brand of democracy has not been an unadulterated product, it has probably been as near to it as is possible in human society.

And Amherst has also been a forum in terms of both national and international issues. Col. Mason W. Tyler once wrote: "I have seen under my father's roof and at his table governors of states, United States senators and members of the House of Representatives, justices of the courts, foreign ministers, distinguished preachers, orators, teachers." For two or three years, about 1900, the summer headquarters of the Chinese embassy to the United States were the Goodell house on Sunset Avenue. Many outstanding statesmen have lectured in Amherst, as, for example, during the recent season of 1956, both of the Massachusetts United States senators, neither of them currently running for re-election. The governor of the Commonwealth is *ex officio* president of the University's board of trustees. The great ones have deemed our village worthy of their words and wisdom.

Thus, in various ways, the citizenry of Amherst have brought about what Clarence Eastman once called "evidence of progressive self-education in the job of democracy."

FOUR

Nature, and therefrom—
Science

Our Amherst—a Garden

SOON after your annalist came to live in Amherst, his neighbor, Ella Hall Pray, called him on the telephone to say, "There are a flock of evening grosbeaks in the shrubbery outside your kitchen window." She was not prepared for his naïve reply, "Well, are they doing any harm?" This trivial incident is related not to glorify grosbeaks, or even Mrs. Pray, and obviously not the annalist. But it illustrates the main point of this chapter. The evening grosbeaks, in 1919, were still a rarity, and Mrs. Pray, having been born and bred in Amherst, assumed that any one, well, almost any one, would leap to the opportunity just to see them, so to speak, in the feathers. Indeed on the day in question any number of bird lovers, in response to a grapevine message, went to considerable inconvenience in order to say "Hello" to our visitors. Amherst people, not all Amherst people, of course, but a good many of them, are like that.

A shrike, a cardinal bird, a yellow-breasted chat settles in Amherst for the nesting season or lingers briefly en route to Canada, and his Amherst fellow creatures somehow hear about him and flock to play the host. They enter a note of the encounter in their diaries, and send word over to "Sam" Eliot at Smith. And Eliot, perchance, includes it as natural history in a book. But the birds remain, so far as one can tell, unimpressed.

It would not be surprising, however, if Amherst were double-starred on the maps of avian airways. It is conveniently located in the fertile Connecticut River valley. It has variety of hill and dale, field and forest, water and soil, berry and bug. It has a wildlife sanctuary of eighty acres, invitingly laid out by Alfred Goodale, to the south of the village. It has, during the winter, feeding stations

galore. And, in the summer, for birds who like them, there are even apartments, to be had for a song.

In season the robin parades upon the lawn, the oriole flashes the color that caught the fancy of Eugene Field, the wood thrush sanctifies the twilight, and the song sparrow forecasts the spring from every budding hedge. These are summer neighbors, but the most engaging bird of all is our year-round villager, the chickadee.

Out in the marshes and woodlands the less gregarious nest and soar, unwittingly awaiting the inevitable human with his field glasses. The ovenbird persistently calls "Come on"; the pewee coyly pipes "I'm here"; the great blue heron seldom says a word.

The migrants, here to-day and gone tomorrow, are the bird man's unfailing delight; these he must catch on the wing or not at all. The whitethroat with its plaintive sequence of song is easy. The wild geese honk at every airy crossroad. But the warblers, restlessly playing hide-and-seek among the tender leaves, are his real test of eye and ear. If he can add an orange-crowned to his list, the season's stalking has not been in vain.

There have been reliably identified in Amherst 232 different varieties of birds. The census-takers and the censuses are also numerous. In some ways the most interesting of the latter is the one in December. On a predetermined day the enlisted observers muffle up and sally forth, recording both species and number; and their totals would amaze the uninitiated. Even the migrants will sometimes winter among us, presumably on a bird bet. There has been no comparable census of the bird lovers; that total would also amaze the uninitiated. Not all of them go in for identification; some provide sunflower seeds and peanut butter just for the fun of having the birds around and of trying to outwit the squirrels. It is not the mere fact of excitement over birds that makes Amherst unusual; it is rather the quantity and the quality thereof.

The birds may or may not realize it, but Amherst provides for them an exceptional variety in the way of trees and shrubs. Particularly if they have a taste for the oriental. Mrs. Herbert Cowan and Mrs. Ralph France have prepared for the Garden Club a compilation of 258 specific trees—another total to amaze the uninitiated.

When Colonel Clark was on his way home from Göttingen, where he had completed graduate studies in metallurgy, he visited

Kew Gardens in London, and there he saw a *Victoria Regia* in full bloom. "Verily Solomon in all his glory. . . ." Clark was entranced. He converted instantly from minerals to vegetation. Years later, after setting up the Imperial University of Hokkaido in Japan, he brought back with him seeds and seedlings for the Agricultural College campus. A recent survey shows twenty-five varieties of Japanese trees and shrubs still in evidence, and mostly within or near the Rhododendron Garden. Clark was the first to introduce most of these into the United States, the best known of his importations being the Yama cherry. William Penn Brooks also taught at the Hokkaido institution, and added to Clark's plantings, most notably around the president's house and along Farview Way. Not all of the orientals are on the University campus by any means. The best examples of the Katsura tree and of the Chinese Golden Rain are at Grace Church; of the former of these Dr. Frederick Tuckerman used to say, "In case of fire, save the *tree*." One of the most impressive Ginkgo trees is at the southeast corner of Amity Street and Lincoln Avenue, and there are excellent European beeches at the northwest corner of the same. By the First Church there are an Australian black pine and an European mountain ash. And there is a white mulberry, brought from Asia in a wicker basket, near the Amherst College president's house. It is appropriate that the grave of Colonel Clark in West Cemetery is shaded by a Scotch Camperdown elm.

Some of the Amherst trees are outstanding by virtue of their size. Perhaps the patriarch is the elm at Cushman, planted by Luther Henry in front of his sweetheart's house in 1786 and over sixteen feet in circumference with a height and spread of about one hundred feet. However the largest oak, "breath-taking" according to Mrs. France, is below the dam at Factory Hollow, and was estimated by Davey tree surgeons as three hundred years old. It is said that when an owner purposed to cut it down his boys dissuaded him by embedding nails in the trunk. There is a very large cucumber tree at the corner of Snell and South Pleasant Street. These examples at least prove that a tree can get into history simply by keeping alive and growing.

More memorable, perhaps, are the trees that have an associational interest.

The early settlers were, of course, more given to removing trees than to adding or relocating them. Among the earliest relocations are the buttonwoods in front of the Psi Upsilon house, transplanted from Sunderland in 1821, and the one at the Historical Society house, survivor of a “bride and groom” couple, which were probably older still. This variety may indeed have been regarded at that time as the most attractive of arboreal decoration. During Henry Flagg French’s short term as president of M.A.C., he set out a white pine “hedge” from the site of what is now Fernald Hall easterly to the ridge and thence toward the north. It was his plan to enclose thus the entire campus. But the windbreak row which still stands was mercilessly decimated by the 1938 hurricane. Not many of the residents to-day ever experienced with Helen Hunt Jackson the autumnal joy “when chestnuts drop from satin burrs,” But in her day the chestnut trees were a towering feature, particularly on Mount Pleasant and along Montague Road. Indeed there was one on the Leverett Road known as the Missionary Tree because Cushman church people used to harvest its popular fruit to swell their missions fund. It was in 1908 that the chestnut blight was first identified on Bull Hill, and within a decade it had swept the township, and whole groves of noble trees were lifeless.

The elm, which Tyler called “the tree of liberty,” is native and some of us like to think academic. For well over a century the village green was seasonally a mire. The *Express* described it thus in 1858: “a mere higglety-pigglety swamp, with patches of grass, gravel pits, muddy ponds, old frog holes, and swales.” Walter Dyer’s father used to recall how his college mates applied a coat of paint to the president’s horse and floated it out into the middle of the common on a raft. Under the leadership primarily of Austin Dickinson there was organized, in 1857, the Amherst Ornamental Tree Association. Its first attempt to redeem the common was the installation of a fountain, but in 1864 it planted fifty trees, many of them elms, some of them still there in 1957. In 1901 Frederick Law Olmsted recommended elms for the south common in spite of their susceptibility to insects because “there is no other sort of tree which so well gives the effect of a lofty overarching canopy of foliage.” Symbolic of the elm’s gracious appeal is the fine example

on Sunset Avenue, which "David Grayson" once purchased at a rather fancy price to save it from a threatening woodman's axe. Slowly but surely, however, the insidious Dutch Elm disease has invaded Amherst. In 1954 eighty trees thus infected were removed. There is apprehension that the elm is destined to follow the chestnut into oblivion. Still, in 1851, the *Express* had this to say about the buttonwoods: "These favorite trees have become so much diseased all over the country that nearly all hope of restoring them is gone." Perhaps the elm may also escape.

We have the minutes of the Amherst Village Improvement Society, as it was renamed in 1877, for sixty years. It was founded "for improving and ornamenting the public grounds." In 1875 it secured advice from Olmsted, and by 1883 it had spent over \$3,000 to advantage. There was a comparable organization at East Street, and during the 1880's others at North Amherst, South Amherst, and Cushman. In 1915 John Genung submitted the first report of a town planning board. In 1916 George E. Stone, our first tree warden, resigned after sixteen years of service. He was followed by Frank P. Toole, who continued until his death in 1950. In 1924 the town adopted an antibillboard by-law, and the following year a provision for zoning.

There are gardens in Amherst, and three or four of them give some promise of permanence: the University's Rhododendron Garden; the one at the Amherst College president's; the period garden at the Historical House; the Dakin one at Mount Doma . . . copied from one in Chremile, Greece, fifth century B.C. But few of our lovely flower gardens long survive the men and women who created them. Colonel Clark, in the 1860's, had one north of Main Street, containing, it was said, a hundred varieties of peony; but in 1940 Charles Huntington Smith had one on Dana Street said to contain nearly three hundred, and some two hundred varieties of iris. In general, the garden enthusiasts have been women, and it was they who organized the Amherst Garden Club, in 1915, and the Garden Section of the Woman's Club, in 1924. The Amherst Nature Club, with a preference for the uncultivated, dates from 1923. Both of the women's organizations have periodically staged flower shows and garden marts in the spring. But the outstanding display along

these lines has been the University's Hort Show. It was started as a floricultural project, in Wilder Hall, in 1909; but in the 1930's it incorporated kindred departments, moved into the athletic cage and became, both in nature and name, the Horticultural Show. Except for interruptions due to war or hurricane, it has never missed a year. Each of the departments is responsible for student-created scenic exhibits, many of them highly artistic. The general committee provides a motif embodied in an elaborate central design. Smith College and neighbor professionals are beautifully represented. The great enclosure becomes a bevy of color and grace. And people come from far and near, as many as 25,000 of them over a weekend, to admire and enjoy and learn. It is triumphantly an art demonstration, but the media are trees, flowers, vegetables, fruit.

Of course the Durfee Plant House at the University, rebuilt in 1954, has been from the time of Colonel Clark a show place for the horticulturally-minded, featuring the exotic and unfamiliar. For many years Amherst has seldom been without two retail florists. The Montgomerys, whose Hadley roses are world famous, have been largely Amherst residents. The floriculturists, like Clark Thayer; the botanists, like Edward Tuckerman, for whom Tuckerman Ravine is named; the ornithologists, like Jerram Brown, who is currently working for a doctorate in this field at the University of California; and the landscape architects, like Frank A. Waugh—such men have made visible and intellectual contributions to campus and community. And the amateurs have followed in their train. Harry Glick, a philosophy teacher, once grew a dahlia $15\frac{3}{4}$ feet in height. Thomas Smith, a town clerk, developed an incomparable bed of yellow ladyslippers. Robert Smart pilgrimed all the way to South Carolina for the sole purpose of seeing the last of the Bachman's warblers. Mrs. Geoffroy Atkinson is a recognized authority on ferns. And Ella Pray was for many years an inspirational nature guide for innumerable boys and girls.

Among the birds, the trees, and the flowers, there have always been animals, most of them native. As of 1957 the undomesticated ones are largely squirrels and skunks. Occasional reports of raccoon and wildcats in the outskirts of Amherst have led to the speculation that Quabbin forest is coming to be an unintended and extensive wildlife sanctuary. Of the wolves, one of which sent Perez Dickin-

son scampering home one Thanksgiving Day long, long ago, there is now no trace. The Pomeroy's used to tell how "Granny shot a wolf from the back door of her home in South Amherst." But now even Wolfpit Brook has gone underground. Rattlesnakes are frequently reported, sun-bathing on the Holyoke Range, and in 1933 a copperhead was taken in Hockanum; but such varmint seldom get as far as Amherst. In 1926 a vagrant albino turkey strutted down North Prospect Street, presumably a descendant of the birds which led our forefathers to give the Notch the name of Turkey Pass. In 1851 a Mill Valley mudturtle made his last authenticated visit, displaying a back upon which were registered various initials and no less than eight dates ranging from 1816 to 1847. Deer occasionally flash their tails upon our village streets. In 1916 Floyd Thompson, recently returned from a disappointing hunting trip in Maine, heard a crash in the front of his store about ten A.M., and found his clerks engaged with a frightened doe which had plunged through his show window. But, for the most part, the Amherst of 1957 is inhabited by humans, pets, and livestock.

For those with eyes to see, Amherst is everywhere a garden. "May is lilac here in New England." May is also forsythia and dogwood. May is the pleasant sound of rain, and running water, and bird calls. May is apple blossoms, and pansy beds, and shady streets. May is faint fragrance. May is young rabbits.

*Our Amherst is a lovely, and a lively, spot—
God wot!*

Acts of God

MARK Twain once said that everybody talks about the weather but that no one does anything about it. Certainly for well over two centuries Amherst people have talked about the weather, but, being intellectuals, they have also done something about it. They have taken notes.

Recordings were begun by Prof. E. S. Snell at Amherst College in 1835 and continued until 1889, when the Agricultural College

provided a similar service at its experiment station. Amherst College resumed making observations in 1948, and since then our village has enjoyed the unique distinction of having two official weather posts. If their findings have not always been identical, well, of course, they have been manned by human beings. And besides they are located at the opposite ends of town. When a shower disrupted the 1955 outdoor commencement exercises at the University, compelling the great crowd to adjourn into the physical education building, other parts of the campus remained perfectly dry. Quite possibly neither station recorded any rain at all. The interpretations of weather extremes as presented in this chapter are the contribution of Dr. Philip T. Ives of Amherst College and cover the period since 1889.

Scientists in this field are looking for trends, and occasionally finding them. Fundamentalists, who consider violent disturbances not only legally but literally "acts of God," look for moral implications. The layman sometimes likes to check his memory or his grandsire's testimony against the evidence, and may even be curious in regard to periods of excessive inconvenience. Your annalist proposes to review the last two centuries pretty much in chronological sequence.

How Amherst fared at the time of "the great earthquake" of 1755 we do not know. She was undoubtedly aware of the Connecticut River flood of 1801, when boats launched on Pleasant Street, Northampton, moored at the tavern in Hadley. But from 1815 until 1819 superstitious citizens had occasion to be apprehensive. For in 1815 there was "a great gale" in New England, during which "sea water was carried many miles inland." 1816 was the infamous cold year, with snow and frost in every month. Indeed there was a small blizzard in June, and one Connecticut Valley man is reported as having been caught away from home in it and frozen to death. Moreover, in 1816 and again in 1819, there were so-called "dark days," fraught with mystery and menace.

There followed, however, some forty years of comparative calm. In 1840 and 1844 the temperature dropped to over twenty below. In 1851 there was a spectacular aurora borealis, when "the whole heavens were covered with a brilliant light. The rays converged at the zenith and extended over the concave above like folds of

crimson cloth." It was on this occasion that Edward Dickinson rang the bell in the village church to arouse his neighbors to witness what was going on above. We are told that there had been a comparable phenomenon in 1719—one which "filled the country with terrible alarm."

The 1860's were tempestuous. There was a premonitory slight earthquake in October 1860. Then in 1863 there was a local flood. At this time there were two dams at Factory Hollow. After the letup of a torrential downpour, four people went out onto a bridge crossing the stream between the two dams to watch the turbulent waters. Suddenly the upper dam collapsed and three of the onlookers were dashed to their death. A second flood occurred in 1869. The rain had fallen for thirty-six hours to a depth of six inches, recorded by Snell as the heaviest he had ever known. Both Amherst streams went on a rampage, destroying dams, rushing through bankside industrial buildings, flooding a brickyard to a depth of several feet, putting the local railroad out of commission for three days.

The next decade was also ushered in by earthquake, "a first-class earthquake," on October 20, 1870. Then, in 1877 and 1879, there were what were termed tornadoes. The first of these carried away the covered bridge across the Connecticut River, and with it eleven people, one of them an Amherst man, who were driving through at the time. All but one were rescued. The second wind-storm swept across the state, including Amherst in its destructive path. The Durfee Plant House was virtually demolished.

The next decade coasted in on runners; Stebbins' livery stable reported that it had operated on "sleighs ninety-eight consecutive days this winter." Then came another "dark day," more explicitly known as "the yellow day" by virtue of "a sickly yellow vapor seeming to rise from the ground, giving forth a very pungent odor." Caused presumably by Canadian forest fires, it happened, nonetheless, to hit upon the day before September 7, the date which had been widely proclaimed by Adventists as that predestined for the end of the world; and there were undoubtedly some in Amherst who slept uneasily that night.

But the memorable day of this decade was March 12, 1888—the day of the great blizzard. That unseasonable snowfall all but oblit-

erated Amherst for several days. Houses were snowbanked to windward up to their second-story windows. Drifts were reported as twenty feet high. Several days later vehicles on Amity Street were still using a tunnel. Moreover at two A.M. on the second night of the storm, fire broke out in the business section, and three substantial buildings were destroyed. News of this fire appeared in New York City papers, having been relayed by way of Northampton, Boston, and London. But the Misses Beston, snowbound within half a mile from the center, didn't know that it was Palmer's Block which had burned until they were "dug out" four days later.

There are still those who profess to remember the great blizzard, but not many. Not even the skeptics deny that it established a record; and all of the forthcoming data in this chapter stem from it as a point of departure. For example, the winter of 1892-1893 was certainly the snowiest for many years, with a recorded total of eighty-one inches; and it was followed by two others not very different. In 1895 there was another tornado, its gusts being clocked locally at ninety-two miles an hour. Accompanied by rain and hail, it tore narrowly through the village, leaving frightful wreckage in its wake. The wettest summer was that of 1897; this and the four following years constitute our longest stretch of sustained high precipitation. Thus it can be seen that as the nineteenth century neared its end, the heavens unloaded.

This period of greatest snow and rain was followed presently by one (1903-1906) of greatest cold, including the coldest year, the coldest summer, the coldest day (twenty-six degrees below zero on January 5, 1904), but not the coldest winter. The next red-letter day was the fourth of July, 1911, which brought us our highest temperature—104 degrees. 1913 provided our driest summer, but not the driest single month, which was October 1924. And 1917-1918 was our coldest winter, but did not include our coldest month, which was February 1934. There are plenty of people who remember that winter, and the next when Amherst suffered her severest epidemic, the Spanish influenza, at a time when she was hard put to it to survive upon pittances of coal and essential foods because of the war. Our rainiest year was 1938, with fifty-nine inches.

And then, after we had begun to think in terms of a somewhat

predictable pattern, we were suddenly caught up and tossed about by the capricious seasons of 1955–1956. They started with an eight-week heat wave, which included our hottest month on record. Then August suddenly went berserk and flooded us with sixteen inches of rain, rain that led to catastrophic disaster in many nearby towns. And March, which had come in pretty much like a lamb, buried the village under snow that totaled over three feet, and established a belated and long-lingering winter as the snowiest in sixty-seven years.

Amherst was only indirectly affected by the Connecticut Valley flood of 1927, a flood fictionally described by Mrs. Thomas C. Esty under the title *The Proud House*. But the one in 1936, which washed away the Sunderland bridge and inundated Hadley, was not one to be soon forgotten. On March 18, with the Connecticut overflowing into the Hadley meadows, evacuation of the village was ordered a little before midnight. Boats were requisitioned in Amherst, and their owners went into action. Bert Moody and his son, engaged thus in rescue work, met with mischance and spent the rest of the night for the most part clinging to branches of a precarious tree. Town and college officials had by daybreak converted the town into a place of refuge. Amherst College housed over four hundred homeless people, the women and children in the gymnasium, the men in the cage. The State College provided similar accommodations for people from Sunderland. Forty members of the state police bunked in Odd Fellows Hall. Selectman Pray reported that nearly a thousand refugees were brought to Amherst. Morrow Cafeteria served 5351 emergency meals; the local theatre and college organizations contributed something in the way of diversion. It was five days before most of these people could be returned to their desolate homes and silt-buried onion fields. The Hadley bridge was closed both by edict and swirling waters, and an Amherst undertaker had to drive 214 miles to bring home a body from Dickinson Hospital. This may not have been the Connecticut's most spectacular display of power, but it certainly made the deepest impression on Amherst.

And in 1938 came the hurricane, unchristened by any gentle, girlish name, unneedful of one—The Hurricane. September was establishing herself as next to the wettest month in sixty-seven

years, and by the 21st the ground was waterlogged. Thus when the storm struck, with gusts up to 120 miles an hour, it not only broke down but uprooted. Great branches crashed to earth, of course, but great trees eased themselves in fantastic prostration as well. Porches, roofs, outbuildings were shattered. Amherst was a chaos, a tangle, a trap. Amherst College was to report its loss of shade trees in definite figures: 134 on the campus, 110 on fraternity property, 300 on college-owned faculty houselots. The selectmen estimated a loss of over 1500 trees belonging to the town; but of twenty-five which had been condemned for removal, twenty, ironically, survived the storm.

The citizens and students promptly hitched up their belts and went to work, clearing the streets; even men who hardly knew an axe from a hatchet beavered valiantly amid the debris. All public services were, of course, disrupted. Candles and fireplaces came back into use. Kerosene lamps and oil stoves made their way down from musty attics, and were passed along from neighbor to neighbor as electric power was gradually restored. But your annalist, for example, living on Mount Pleasant, was without electricity for fourteen days. In 1925 Frederick Law Olmsted had told the Amherst College officials that their inner campus needed replanting and regrading, but added that such changes were out of the question "unless some calamity should destroy all the trees at one fell swoop." Well, the windstorm was just such a calamity, and the Olmsted blueprint was uncovered and put to work. Local people who were accustomed to look down the long avenue of maples toward the Noah Webster memorial, may now find it, without the maples, to the north of Walker Hall.

A caprice of lively air certainly made the exalted age of technology look rather silly.

In spite of the excesses and eccentricities of our Amherst weather, our scientists still discern what seems to be a trend. Thus Dr. Ives, writing in 1955, has said: "In common with the rest of both the northern and southern quarters of the globe, Amherst has been growing unsteadily warmer in these post-Pleistocene centuries, particularly in these past twenty-five years. . . . Our summers, too, are drier and, curiously, more humid than Grandfather knew. Where he made a ditch to take the water off the crops in the



The Common after the 1938 Hurricane

Barnes



Barnes

In Front of Merchants Row

1890's, his grandson to-day makes one to bring it on; and growing Amherst digs and digs—for more water.”

Amherst is in no way unique in terms of wind and weather. Emily Dickinson used to expatiate upon our wholesome air; but, although the air is often bracing, it is also, as Dr. Ives indicates, often humid; and people with troublesome sinuses sometimes pack up and remove to places which advertise “climate.” Situated near the Connecticut River, Amherst is peculiarly susceptible to floods and thunder showers. Situated near the arable acres of the Connecticut Valley, she experiences dust-storms—but also colorful sunsets. Certainly she enjoys infinite, albeit unpredictable, variety. Without getting involved in matters theological, it may be remarked that if the excesses and eccentricities described in this chapter are to be charged against God, He must also be credited in terms of the short and simple annals of mildness and sunshine. In Amherst, as well as in Oklahoma, people sing, occasionally, “Oh, what a beautiful morning!”

Family Doctor

THE eighteenth century physician was some improvement over the Norwottuck medicine man—but not much. His prescriptions—bleeding and blistering—were indeed almost as drastic, and almost as meaningless. Calomel was the dependable drug. Sulphur and molasses were a sinister symbol of spring. In 1762 Dr. Crouch of Hadley-and-Amherst invested in five rattlesnake balls, a composition of various parts of the snake, this being considered by the profession as, in some inexplicable way, remedial. The midwife was still in demand at childbirth. Usually the practice of medicine was a sideline, at any rate not the exclusive occupation. And yet the doctor was from the first indispensable, in terms of morale if not of skill, and a good number of the inhabitants, including doctors, exceeded the Biblical three-score-years-and-ten.

Nathaniel Smith, Amherst's earliest physician, was among the settlers in 1731. He had a farm just south of the common and was an active citizen. As a mark of special distinction he owned a watch

—a remarkable gadget at a time when people were largely dependent upon sundials, hour glasses, or a “noon mark” on a southerly window casing. He seems to have been a man of high purpose and good sense, one in favor with God and man, for both he and his wife lived to be eighty-four years old.

His successor, Dr. Robert Cutler, likewise achieved an eighty-four year span of life.

Cutler's son, however, Dr. Isaac G., actually succumbed before his sire. But with him modernity was moving in, and the midwife was moving out. From 1805 until 1833 he kept a diary record of his baby cases. Among the children whom he brought into the world was Amherst's gifted poetess: “Edward Dickinson, Esqr., December 10—G,” although presumably Mrs. Dickinson deserved the greater credit. And on the very same page is an entry of the birth of Helen Hunt Jackson, which took place in a nearby homestead, where the Kappa Theta house now stands. Altogether there are 1276 such entries. His fee for delivery was one dollar, but it is remembered that once, when he combined two deliveries on a single trip to South Amherst, he charged each proud father only fifty cents. One wonders what he would have charged Benjamin R. Turner, whose wife, in 1923, gave birth to triplets, all of whom, incidentally, are Amherst residents as of 1957.

The longevity of our two earliest doctors may be misleading. Certainly as late as the middle of the nineteenth century the mortality rate, not only among children but even among young men and women, was appalling. The diagnosis implicit in the following grim notice in 1850 may be significant: “Mr. Winthrop Houston of North Amherst, aged 22, died suddenly on Sunday morning last. He drank freely of cold water while his system was overheated on the day previous, and in a few hours was a corpse.” Millicent Todd Bingham lists thirty-three of Emily Dickinson's friends, twenty-three of them between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, who died during a three-year period, and remarks shrewdly that if Emily seems to us to have been unduly aware of death and inordinately concerned over the health of her family, she had reasons. Illnesses were seasonal: in summer brain fever, scarlet fever, typhoid, ulceration of the bowels; in winter pulmonary disorders, preeminently consumption. Between 1880 and 1885 four of Alfred

Stearns' brothers and sisters were fatally stricken with tuberculosis, three of them dying almost at once. It was in 1882 that Koch isolated the tuberculosis germ.

The outstanding physician following Isaac Cutler was Timothy J. Gridley, whom Austin Dickinson described as "that strange, queer, eccentric, fascinating man; doctor, politician; hated, admired, distrusted, believed to carry life in his hand." Like his successors, Drs. D. B. N. Fish and H. J. Cate, who were in large measure responsible for our establishing public libraries at North Amherst and the center respectively, Gridley was a great reader. It is said that after calling on a patient at the old Henderson house, he picked up a book in the living room, settled down to read it, had lunch with the family, continued to read most of the afternoon, then suddenly said, "I'm in a hurry. Jim Dexter is in a fit and I must go."

By Gridley's time the doctors had begun, in a way, to specialize. The *Express* in 1849 said that the terms "allopathy, homeopathy, hydropathy are now in common use." Of hydropathy Amherst was very much aware. In line with the homeopathic protests against "purging" and other violent forms of treatment, it recommended rest and diet, but particularly bathing and hot and cold packs. Our first hydropathic institute was located in Florence, the second on Round Hill in Northampton. And there were others, including one at Orient Springs in West Pelham, and another on Mount Mineral in Shutesbury. Northampton came to be thought of as the center of this therapeutic school. The Florence establishment was equipped to treat 150 patients, among whom were such celebrities as "Stonewall" Jackson and Harriet Beecher Stowe. But by 1865 the enthusiasm for water cures had begun to cool. The vogue did, however, mark a definite advance in the practice of medicine.

Mention should also be made of that enlightened fanatic, Sylvester Graham. In 1823 he was a student at Amherst Academy. Later, having dedicated himself to medical reforms, he spent most of his life, and died, in Northampton. His advocacies were almost incredibly in line with modern thinking: whole wheat breads, more fruit, less meat, fresh air in bedrooms, no feather beds, loose clothing, cold showers, temperance. Although he had a considerable following, including the influential Horace Greeley, most of

his ideas had to wait for over half a century for what has come to be pretty general acceptance. His still enduring memorial may be found in your favorite grocery store—the Graham cracker. Unhappily it must be recorded that, unlike the unenlightened doctors, Smith and Robert Cutler, he died at the unripe age of fifty-eight.

An Amherst college student in 1848 described in his diary going “to the dentist’s to have a tooth extracted,” and having the experience, not altogether successful, of inhaling ether. This was only two years later than the earliest ether extraction on record anywhere. Six years later Emily Dickinson was writing, “I spent the forenoon at Dr. Stratton’s.” Presumably the Amherst physicians did less pulling of teeth after 1850. In 1872 the Leach Brothers’ dental rooms installed a liquid nitrous oxide machine for administering gas. At the same time Dr. J. J. Vincent did the same, and was assured by the producers that his was the “first complete apparatus of this kind sent into Massachusetts.” In 1880 Dr. J. H. Beals was reported as having “a rubber dam at his office,” and the editor threw in the query “What is it?” Most of the younger generation in 1957 may happily ask the same question, but there are still those of us who can tell them. In 1900 there were three dentists in Amherst; in 1957 there are seven.

In 1870 there were ten doctors; in 1898 there were eight. In 1895 we note that “Drs. H. B. Perry and G. W. Rawson performed a successful operation for appendicitis . . . upon Clyde Thornton.” The following year the public were given an opportunity to witness an X-ray demonstration. Modern surgery was here.

The death of Dr. Orvis F. Bigelow, in 1899, after nearly thirty years of practice, and indirectly the result of a virulent epidemic of grippe ten years before, has a certain unprofessional interest in that the Bigelow house had been previously occupied by the Edward Dickinsons and also by virtue of the fact that his musically gifted son was to carry the torch of family distinction for another forty years. All in all there have been over sixty physicians in Amherst, at least three of them women, and at one time two of them in North Amherst. As of 1957 there are ten, not counting those employed by the colleges, and most of them are in some measure specialists. With the introduction of Blue Cross, Blue Shield, child clinics, ambulance service, “wonder drugs,” medical

attendance has become less personal. Perhaps Nelson C. Haskell, who practiced from Amity Street for fifty-five years and died in 1952, may be considered the last of the old-school family doctors. At any rate Amherst College conferred upon him an honorary degree.

Amherst has not suffered unduly from epidemics. In 1831 there were some twenty-odd cases of small pox or its milder cousin varioloid at the Mount Pleasant Institute, with two fatalities, and the following year the town paid Drs. Cutler and Gridley \$50 for vaccinating "the inhabitants of Amherst." In 1864 the dread disease broke out among the colored people, and a barn was converted into a pesthouse. There were sixteen cases of the disease, but again only two were fatal. The Rev. Charles Parkhurst has told us of what he called "an outbreak of cerebro-spinal meningitis" among the students of Amherst College at this time. "After the attendant physician had recommended the liberal use of whiskey as an antidotal expedient, it spread rapidly through the entire college . . . till the faculty decided to omit the usual term examinations." The forthcoming vacation, however, found all of the patients fully recovered, and the episode is not to be taken as historically very significant.

In 1890 the run of grippe referred to above proved very serious among the aged; Dr. Bigelow himself treated sixty cases. In 1913 Amherst was visited by a virulent form of scarlet fever. There were sixty-two cases among the townspeople, sixteen in three families. In Sunderland there were four deaths in a single family within a week. The North Amherst school was shut down, movies were banned, twenty-five houses were fumigated. The disease was traced to North Amherst milk. But it was at the Agricultural College that the scourge was most severe. Twenty-five students came down with the fever within as many hours, and most of the cases were critical. Two fraternity houses were converted into hospitals. Dr. Haskell and Curry Hicks, the recently appointed director of physical education at the college, were in charge. There were four deaths. Then, during the war winter of 1918, came the harrowing Spanish influenza, the worst of all. There were 685 cases reported in Amherst, and twenty-five of them resulted in death. Although

this last major epidemic was nearly forty years ago, the pessimist still mutters, "So what?"

For hospitalization Amherst has largely depended upon neighboring cities, particularly upon the Cooley-Dickinson Hospital, which was opened in Northampton in 1886. Both colleges, of course, maintain infirmaries. In 1894 the Cutlers and Flavel Gaylord sponsored a modest hospital on South Pleasant Street, but it lasted for only a year. Always the disability with which families and communities have had most to concern themselves has been old age; and in 1912 the Home for Aged Women, made possible by a bequest of Mrs. Ellen E. Fisher, was opened in North Amherst. About that time there was also, for at least three years, an "Amherst Cottage Hospital." In 1917 Edward D. Bangs left \$75,000 for a hospital, but the town did not feel that it could accept the contingent responsibilities. Moreover Dr. Mary Sanderson, head of the Naukeim Sanitarium in Springfield, had the previous year returned to her family home in South Amherst and converted it into a nursing home, thereby setting the pattern that was to prevail in Amherst for at least half a century. In 1921 she relocated on North Prospect Street, where she, and subsequently her niece, continued the service until 1939. Since then there have been others: the Kane Nursing Home on Lessey Street, Mrs. Hamilton's Maternity Home and the Hopkins Nursing Home no longer active, Mrs. Barstow's Town and Country Nursing Home on Montague Road, and Julia Tiffany's Pioneer Valley Nursing Home on North Prospect Street. The need for such accommodations in Amherst is great, and the likelihood is that they will increase in number and attractiveness.

There have been, of course, the customary civic services. The Board of Health was created in 1895. In 1917 the Woman's Club provided a visiting nurse, and this project was soon taken over by the town. As of 1957 Amherst supports, in addition, other nurses, a sanitarian, an ambulance, various clinics and inspections. Besides the compulsory chest X-ray examinations at the colleges, over three thousand residents, in 1954, took advantage of a voluntary similar service. Blood banks are recurrent on the campuses and in the village. The largest number of cases of "a communicable disease" reported in 1954 was fifteen—dog bite. In 1955, however, this number, increased to seventeen, was completely overshadowed by approximately a hundred cases of measles and an

equal number of chicken pox. There were fifteen cases of polio. The town has general sewage coverage, and provides for garbage collection. Amherst would seem to be hygienically up-to-date and, in that respect at least, a salubrious community.

Still her people eventually die. Mrs. Louana Huse, who died in 1909, is the only centenarian who has come to your annalist's attention, although Sally Emerson and Flora King lived into their hundredth year in 1900 and 1958 respectively. The familiar churchyard admonition takes a somewhat unfamiliar form as proffered under the name of Dorothy Dickinson in West Cemetery:

*Ye aged friends of mine,
Though healthy and robust,
Know that you're tottering o'er the grave
And soon will turn to dust.*

The oldest stone in that cemetery carries this inscription: "Mr John Scott Dyed on Octy 3 1737 aged 27 year Kings town Mr Wilm Scots son." In 1818 the town purchased land in both North and South Amherst for additional burial grounds, former owners, however, being permitted to continue to pasture their sheep thereon. In early days the "remains" of the newly-departed were borne to the graveyard by the pallbearers. Once, when because of heavy snowfall it was suggested a sled be used instead, the Rev. David Parsons stoutly objected to it as being either unfeeling or effete. But in 1802 the citizens voted "to Buld a Hears to Convey dead Corpses to the Place of Enterment." The awesome vehicle thus procured was subsequently, in 1852, sold at auction for five dollars, and, still later, discovered by Adams Allen in the cellar of the onetime Amherst College president's house, degraded to the role of potato bin. When Edward Dickinson died in 1874, and later when Emily died, the bearers carried the coffins across the field to West Cemetery according to the custom of early days. Incidentally West Cemetery contains memorial stones for Edward's parents in two entirely separate lots, the more pretentious having been provided by Edward's brother after Edward's death, presumably as more adequate in terms of family dignity.

In 1869 the town considered buying the Joseph Dickinson farm on Strong Street for another cemetery, but eventually enlarged the

one in the village instead. It was about this time that the practice of selling burial lots to provide for maintenance was introduced. In 1881 another purchase project failed to carry. Thus, in 1887, a group of citizens took the initiative and, as the Amherst Cemetery Association, bought the Dickinson farm. Thereupon the town, shamed into action, took it over. Subsequent thinking, however, led to such lively opposition that, at a special town meeting, it reconsidered and voted to unload the property at auction. The purchaser was Henry F. Hills, erstwhile president of the Amherst Cemetery Association. Then a town committee recommended buying the Colonel Clark estate, at a considerably higher figure, but this was voted down. By this time the town was ready to repurchase the Dickinson farm, but Hills declined to sell. Instead he reconveyed it to the association, and under the supervision of Austin Dickinson it was landscaped and opened to the public. In 1926 the association was financially in arrears, and again the question of purchase by the town was raised. However, under the leadership of Frederick Tuckerman, it raised \$21,000 by subscription and has continued as a private enterprise. During World War Two it renovated the old brick farmhouse as a home for immigrant refugees. It is now known as the Wildwood Cemetery Association, and its president for many years has been Bert O. Moody.

Wildwood is something of a beauty spot, but old West, for the last half-century all but completely occupied, will always, historically speaking, maintain priority. In 1955, by virtue of a bequest by Alice C. Burnham, it was embellished by the addition of a memorial wall and gateway on Triangle Street.

Saint Brigid's Cemetery, although located in Plainville and over the Hadley line, is the final resting place for all Amherst Roman Catholics. The land was purchased in 1866, and the first burial took place about 1875.

It is unlikely that Amherst will ever be thought of as a health resort. Her weather is captious, her winters frequently inclement, her atmosphere humid. More people leave Amherst than come to her in consideration of their physical well-being. For the robust she offers variety and stimulation; for the delicate, professional care and personal anxiety. And in Amherst, as indeed everywhere, the paths of health, as well as those of glory, lead but to the grave.

Observers of the Natural World

FUNDAMENTALLY science means research. Eventually almost every scientific enterprise thus evolves. Amherst's contributions to science have been largely through the agency of her colleges. How great they have been no one can positively say. They have included: research *per se*; preparing others to engage in research; preparing others to prepare others to engage in research. There is, of course, a cultural value of general intelligence to which our schools at all levels are committed; but even this, if intrinsically experienced, is akin to research. A science teacher without research propensities would not be considered truly a scientist.

It may be said that scientific research resolves itself into three phases: observation, interpretation, and application, with, of course, much overlapping. And Amherst scientists have done notable work in all three. If a layman may speak, without authority, upon such matters, it may be said that the first phase, observation, is strikingly illustrated by Charles Alexander's classification of crane flies and Frederick Loomis' assembling of tertiary mammalian bones; the second, interpretation, by Ralph Beebe's conclusions upon the adsorptive properties of particles of matter, and Harold Plough's upon the relation between mutations and temperature; the third, application, by William Lachman's breeding of more succulent sweet corn, Jacob Shaw's variety identification of apple nurslings by leaf, and George Bain's explorations for uranium.

Whenever observation and application are both involved, interpretation would seem to be the bridge between them, and indeed it is in interpretation that scientists are most likely to err. Edward Hitchcock thought that his famous dinosaur tracks were those of birds. The point may be further illustrated by a little episode staged by President Clark of the infant M.A.C. and William Penn Brooks, then a student but later to be for twelve years director of its experiment station. Clark was regaling a legislative committee with certain observations of sap, which Louis Agassiz declared

had "amply repaid every dollar which the State had bestowed upon the institution." "So you can tell," Clark said to Brooks, "which trees will flow freely and which will not?" "I can tell," replied the boy, "which trees *have* flowed freely and which have not."

Perhaps a more familiar differentiation in research is that between basic and applied. This may be even more academic and precarious than the other. It is obvious that observation, whether or not followed by interpretation, like David Todd's photographic recordings of eclipses, may be, at least for the present, terminal—an end in itself. And presumably a competent applier may be ignorant of or indifferent to the preliminary processes that make his experiments possible. But when the two are correlated, it must be by virtue of interpretation, which requires, perhaps, greater imagination than either observation or application and is certainly closely akin to both. It would seem that the basic and applied scientists, so designated, are much closer together than we sometimes think. For example, consider some work being currently done by Gilbert Woodside, dean of the University's graduate school, and George Kidder of Amherst College. Both are looking, Woodside biologically and Kidder biochemically, for factors which retard organic growth. Both think of their findings as predominantly basic. But the great foundations whose substantial grants make much of their work possible, are not motivated by knowledge for the sake of knowledge; they are looking for the key to cancer control. Oscar Schotté's investigation, in contrast, has to do with regeneration: if a salamander can reproduce a lost member, why cannot we? It is in application that his efforts are justified. Perhaps we should minimize the distinction between basic and applied research.

Moreover the problem of crediting individuals with achievement in research has always been great and is becoming momentarily greater. One man observes a hitherto unnoted or inadequately recorded phenomenon, a second relates it to other phenomena or to existing knowledge, a third embodies it in, let us say, a technological gadget; who deserves the most acclaim? Two men independently make comparable observations, or provide comparable interpretation, or bring into being comparable gadgets; who wins? For historic convenience we usually agree upon one of them, but

something less than justice has been done. And, as research procedures have become more and more complex and collaborative, personal recognition has become almost impossible. Your annalist is in no way qualified to appraise our contributions in science or the Amherst men who have been responsible for them. The names that appear in this chapter are not intended to constitute a local hall of fame, but merely to indicate, by example, the nature, the variety, and in a general way the quality of Amherst research, and to emphasize the fact that for well over a century Amherst has been an eager, expert, and scholarly community in a so-called natural world.

In his inauguration address, the first president of Amherst College included a threefold appeal for science: first, mathematical, that of "the material universe"; second, "a science of still higher importance . . . the philosophy of the mind"; third, "the science of theology or religion." And in 1847 Hitchcock, himself a cleric, erected our earliest building dedicated to science upon the very site of the meetinghouse in which Moore had delivered this address. In the new college, science was indeed the lowly handmaid of religion, but at least she was there.

Of course the eccentric but versatile Hitchcock was really the pioneer. He came to Amherst in 1826, having already begun his voluminous publication of scientific observations. A crude chemistry laboratory, appropriately adjoining but underneath the chapel, was provided for his extraordinary operations. Primarily he is important to us because of his collection, for the most part in the neighborhood of Amherst, of thousands of dinosaur tracks. He did not really discover them; the earliest "on the globe so far as we know," he recorded, "were ploughed up by Pliny Moody in South Hadley in 1802, while a boy." But he was the first to sense their significance as "footmarks in stone," and his accumulation of them was an audacious and almost incredible achievement.

Among Hitchcock's students were two boys who later became his associates upon the faculty and who gave to Amherst three other significant collections: Charles Upham Shepard and Charles Baker Adams. Shepard assembled, according to the *American Journal of Science* (1859), "the largest and most important collection of meteoric specimens in the world excepting that of the Im-

perial Museum of Vienna.” And of a second Shepard collection the same journal said that “the mineral species are nowhere in America, and seldom anywhere, so well represented.” Adams was primarily interested in West Indian mollusks. His collection of them was acclaimed by Louis Agassiz as the outstanding one of the time, and, indeed, in 1942, was turned over to Harvard on indefinite loan. It is noteworthy, also, that the college afforded Adams leaves of absence with pay in order that he might increase and describe his findings. Certainly the bringing together and classifying these innumerable specimens—fossils, plants, insects, minerals, meteorites, shells—constituted an important contribution to scientific observation.

It must be borne in mind that Amherst was, at this time, a little backwoods college, struggling to survive. Indeed, for a little while, there were funds for only token salaries, but the faculty carried on. It must also be borne in mind that she was, during this period, virtually a pre-theological school, staffed by what might be called converted clergymen. It might be further noted that the encomium from the *American Journal* appeared the same year that Darwin published his disruptive *Origin of Species*, and, although the Amherst scientists are not remembered as adherents, their evidence strongly supported the new attitude toward *Genesis* I & II.

During the rest of the century Amherst made no comparable contributions to observation; her seers, Benjamin K. Emerson and John M. Tyler, were more given to interpretation. Emerson was Hitchcock’s almost immediate successor; between them they manned the chair of geology for eighty-six years. His most tangible research was in local geological map work. Tyler, like Emerson, brought back from German universities new ideas and ideals of systematic study, and in Amherst established the laboratory as essential equipment in zoology. Both men were potent personalities, both maintained the disturbing doctrine of evolution, and both upheld the tradition of geology-zoology supremacy on the Amherst campus, a tradition which has largely prevailed to the present day.

Mention should be made of Loomis’ skeletal demonstration of the evolution of the horse, his earliest exhibit dating from (if you do not object to scientific guessing) 45,000,000 years ago and disinterred at long last in Wyoming; the next, only 25,000,000 years

old and a one time resident of South Dakota; the third, 10,000,000 years old, from Colorado; a fourth, a mere 900,000 years, from Texas. It was Loomis who organized the Amherst Science Club, a town and double-gown affair, which met regularly to compare notes and notions until both colleges acquired chapters of Sigma Xi.

Every Amherst person who clambers up Tuckerman's Ravine in the White Mountains should realize that it is named for the man who "discovered" it, Edward Tuckerman, regarded as the American authority on lichens in his day and for twenty-six years a member of the Amherst College faculty. Because of deafness, however, he did very little actual teaching, and has been described as "the first and only research professor in the history of Amherst College."

Todd's astronomical observations were facilitated by virtue of the technology of an applied scientist, Edmund Thompson, who operated an untidy little shop in the rear of Merchants Row. Todd, in his efforts to waylay and record, in some distant corner of the earth, a predicted eclipse, wanted what was in effect a crude moving picture equipment, this being in the days of photographic glass plates. Thompson contrived it, and later received an honorary degree from Amherst College.

Historically the Agricultural College got off to a late start, and in terms of the nineteenth century, has much less to show. She came into being just in time to pick up some of the young PhD's from Germany. Clark was one of these. He placed his new college upon the scientific, as well as the agricultural, map by means of a spectacular bit of observation—a squash, ingeniously harnessed, which in the process of expansion actually lifted weights totaling over two and a half tons and then broke the harness.

This was, of course, sheer histrionics, but, almost from the beginning, Clark's associates and successors have had their eye, and have been paid to have their eye, upon making two blades of grass grow where one grew before. Outstanding among the former was the consecrated agricultural chemist, Charles Goessmann. Goessmann systematized the plot experiments which had been initiated by Levi Stockbridge on his North Hadley farm, in an effort to improve soil and crop conditions. His most original and

explicit research had to do with the possibility of sugar beet culture in New England and with the reclamation of salt marshes, both of which have remained largely theoretical in terms of Massachusetts. On the other hand, Fernald's economic entomology, certainly a scientific innovation, was sufficiently organized by the turn of the century to discover and provide means of combatting the iniquitous gypsy moth. And George E. Stone, another German product, came to be called the "father of tree surgery."

In 1882 the General Court created the Massachusetts State Agricultural Experiment Station, and in 1888, under Congressional provisions, the college trustees created the Hatch Experiment Station of M.A.C. These were agreeably merged in 1894. They later colonized, so to speak, with field laboratories in Wareham and Waltham. The function of this organization, which, by 1957, employs a staff of about ninety men and women, has been primarily research along a large number of practical lines, particularly perhaps in terms of fertilizer, feeds, infestations, and disease.

If it seems that a staff of this size should have turned out innumerable discoveries, it must be remembered that much of the work is routine, that much is actually public relations, and that, after all, in the scientific world at large most prospectors probe for a lifetime without striking oil. Moreover many station men are involved in instructional duties. The United States Department of Agriculture's unduly publicized threat to withhold federal funds as of 1956 was a political and administrative device and in no sense a reflection upon professional performance to date. The station has published nearly five hundred bulletins, some of them ephemeral but all based upon conscientious scientific studies. Its contributions in agricultural research are everywhere acknowledged.

In dealing with contemporary research it is safest to stick to the general and avoid the explicit and the personal. Still it may be permissible to mention recent successes in genetics, as illustrated by Frank Hays' Rhode Island Reds; in pathology, as illustrated by Henry Van Roekel's bacteriological studies, which have pointed the way towards control of pullorum, Newcastle and chronic respiratory diseases in chickens, and have been recognized on both sides of the Atlantic; and in preservation, as illustrated by Carl Fellers' innovations in food processing, with special attention

to cranberries, apples, seafoods, and vegetables. It is in ways such as these that research has demonstrated its value in terms of human welfare.

At Amherst College David Grahame is concerned with the thermodynamic properties of the electric double layer, particularly as associated with erosion. For two years Plough was in Nevada as assistant chief of the Biological Branch of the Atomic Energy Commission, to study genetic effects of radio-activity as created by atomic explosions. During the last ten years Amherst College has spent about \$1,400,000 in research, nearly two-thirds of which has been provided by foundation grants and government contracts.

Three Amherst College scientists—Kidder, Plough, and Schotté—have been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. And the college takes satisfaction in the fact that Hermann Muller, for five years a member of its faculty, was in 1946, prior to his coming to Amherst, awarded the Nobel Prize for demonstrating the production of mutations by radiation.

It may seem that this chapter has lingered unduly upon the actual research of our scientists. After all, our most significant service is to be found in the classrooms. In this respect the University, with its graduate school, is more immediately productive, although many of the Amherst College undergraduates doing honors work in science continue their studies in other institutions. In June 1957, the University awarded thirty-nine masters degrees to science majors, and eight PhD's, half of the latter being in food technology. This food technology program, organized by Walter Chenoweth some forty years ago, was a farsighted venture. In 1955 it attracted to the campus thirty-eight graduate students, twelve of them from abroad. There are, as of 1957, eleven similar laboratories, one of them Egyptian, one of them colored, all of which were set up and have been presided over by Fellers associates.

The test of a school is its alumni. The May issue of *Science*, 1951, published the results of a survey covering the years 1924–1934 and ranking “the colleges and universities on the number of graduates per 1000 undergraduates who went on to receive the PhD from some graduate school and were listed in *American Men of Science*,” and the University of Massachusetts was listed as first in New England and sixth in the entire nation. A comparable study

conducted by the Office of Scientific Personnel of the National Research Council listed the institutions on the basis of the total number of science majors from 1936 to 1945 who went on to their PhD's, and in New England Massachusetts stood fourth, being exceeded by Harvard, Yale, and M.I.T. Similarly a survey of an honorary group, "Starred Scientists," 1903-1944, found Amherst College in twelfth place and the only liberal arts college among the top twenty. The teachers who, by example and direction, prepare young people for the scientific professions are undoubtedly making our most far-reaching contribution. Certainly their names, those of both teachers and students, are Legion.

This chapter has dealt almost exclusively with investigators and investigation. The cultural values are very important too. We are living in a technological age based upon scientific observation, and every pupil is told something of the mysterious forces of nature about us. The true teacher raises immutable formulas to a high degree of mental and even spiritual interest. His boys and girls are led to look steadily upon phenomena, to notice them independently, to reflect upon their meaning. They are led to know and think about the natural world. Such observation and speculation are of the essence of research, and although these young people may be but casual and superficial amateurs, they too, in a way, are scientists. "Is Saul also among the prophets!"

The effective teacher, then, must do more than compile, demonstrate, and generalize. He must arouse the minds of his pupils to alertness, excitement, and wonder. Perhaps orthodox Hitchcock was right—even to worship. He must make research, even at the unprofessional level, an adventure. Both colleges have had such teachers. So has our high school. But to exemplify the art and technique of the teacher as in some respects special and unique, let us consider briefly an inimitable team of two at the University: G. Chester Crampton and Ray Torrey, an entomologist and a botanist. Both were highly competent, both unmarried, both consecrated scientists. Both might have simply stepped out of Oxford or Cambridge. But they were dynamic poles, between which the sparks of challenge and controversy were constantly at play. For Crampton was philosophically a realist and Torrey a romantic, even a mystic. Both had devoted followers, who surcharged the

intellectual atmosphere. Torrey was the greater teacher, but both were unconventional, captivating, and occasionally an embarrassment to Administration. Let the specialists in education think twice before they attempt to standardize our teachers of science!

Amherst occupies a seat of distinction in scientific society. She has added something, quite a little, to the sum of human knowledge. Especially she has helped to compile and systematize observable data for more effective reference. In the field of research she has stimulated and disciplined professionals and activated amateurs. Geologically her Pioneer Valley is said to be, perhaps, the most revealing of natural laboratories. And in it one may observe not only the visible earth about us, but also, with the help of a lens, the invisible realms of atoms and stars. It is the glory of Amherst that her observers have been not only meticulous and indefatigable, but also imaginative and contemplative. They have been gifted with sight, but also with insight.

FIVE

Creativeness, and therefrom—
Beauty



A Ride with Brown

OF Robert Frost the *New York Times* had this to say in 1920: "Among the Seven Wise Men of Amherst . . . he found possibly the wisest, and so one of his best friends, in a real estate agent." This real estate agent was W. R. Brown. Telephone number—1.

In 1956, the date of this chapter, that friendship is stronger than ever. Brown is still a real estate agent; but he is also a naturalist, a humorist, a columnist, a native philosopher, and perhaps, all in all, Amherst's most observant townsman. And he is a shrewd and ardent reader of books, particularly those of Emily Dickinson and Thoreau. If you are interested in houses, historically, Brown is your man. He knows everything about them: their past, their architecture, their occupants, their market value.

And, on this sunny morning in 1956, he and your annalist, a fictional guest, climb into his car at his home on Lincoln Avenue, and, as leisurely as daybreak, drive north. They note that the University campus is typically land-grant collegiate—architecturally hit-and-miss. Some sixty major buildings, twenty-two of them dormitories, are informally assembled about a pleasant pond and along the eastern hillside; and, partly by virtue of lovely plantings and trees, they give an impression of spacious symmetry and conglomerate grace. The architect most largely represented is an alumnus, Louis Warren Ross, whose new Student Union is an artistic delight. As Margaret Fuller "accepted the universe," so Brown and your annalist accept the campus. It has, however, two houses of historic distinction—the Stockbridge House and the Homestead.

There are in Amherst a goodly number of houses which have outlasted, one is tempted to say outlived, their recorded history. As, curiously, for a little, in respect to both of our major poets, Robert Frost and Emily Dickinson, there has been some uncertainty as to

the exact date of their origin. Their lines and beams and panels and ironwork indicate a period. The county records sometimes yield a date.

The Stockbridge House is indisputably, if not absolutely demonstrably, the oldest house in the village. With proper deference we go in. We pass through the Boltwood Room, named in honor of Samuel Boltwood, who, in 1728, sold his home in Hadley and, presumably at once, established his family here; the Tory Room, recalling to mind the nine royalists who were briefly “confined altogether in the house” at the time of the Revolution; the French Room, named after Daniel Chester French, the sculptor, a somewhat longer resident; the Stockbridge Room, where Levi Stockbridge, professor of agriculture and, for a little, president, maintained an unpretentious office; and the Baker Lounge, an adaptation dating from the time when Hugh Potter Baker had the old house renovated into a friendly and atmospheric clubhouse for his faculty. The building speaks, at least to a sensitive and listening guest, a various language.

The Homestead, a little to the north and now a practice house in Home Economics, is less articulate. The land was taken up by two Hatfield men, John and Jonathan Cows, in 1727, and continued as the family farm until it became part of the Agricultural College campus in 1864.

Cruising along, still northward, on the old county road, we soon pass a pastoral set of buildings known as Mark’s Meadow. Walter Dickinson, son of the patriotic Nathaniel, Jr., built them in 1844, about the time he was also building the North Amherst gristmill. They were, for many years, the home of his son, Marquis Fayette, from whom they took their name, and of his grandson, Capt. Walter Mason Dickinson, whose life was Amherst’s major contribution to the Spanish-American War.

At the quintuple crossroads in North Amherst we note the fine old meetinghouse, and, diagonally across from it, the Clark homestead, an excellent example of early brick, dating from 1821. We look down into Meadow Street in memory of “Charlie” Haskins, a builder and the son of a builder. There are in Amherst twenty-nine Haskins houses, eight of them on Pine Street, all of them

modest and functional according to the taste of the nineteenth century.

So we turn onto Pine Street, toward Cushman, and can pretty accurately identify them. This brings us to East Pleasant Street and back towards town. On our left is the recently renovated birthplace of General Mattoon, and on our right the new Walter Jones development, where already nearly twenty of some eighty expected residences lie sunnily toward the west. Nearing Mount Pleasant, we think of the Gass family, William and his variously gifted sons. They were not only high-class craftsmen but creative artists as well. During the 1920's they built in Amherst fifty-two attractive homes, no two of them alike. And eight of them are here on the old Nash estate, the grounds of the onetime Mount Pleasant Institute.

As we converge upon North Pleasant Street, we throw a quizzical glance at the ridgepole of the Elihu Church house, just to be sure that it is still to be seen, precariously perched there—a birdhouse in the likeness of a Greek temple. It has weathered over a hundred and twenty winters, and was introduced by David Grayson into his story *Hempfield*. The second house beyond was originally one of the wings of the above-mentioned Mount Pleasant Institute. So now we arrive at the village green, and the site of the historically elusive Hartling Stake. Resisting readily a call to duty from Brown's office above the savings bank, we continue our wayward way down Main Street.

Brown quotes an appropriate quatrain from Emily Dickinson as we pass her home, an overlooking brick house built by her grandfather, "probably in 1813," and currently occupied by the gracious and hospitable Mrs. Hervey C. Parke. Beyond Triangle Street we note the Amherst Woman's clubhouse and its Victorian twin, both erected by the Hillses, when the hat industry was in full swing. At the East Street common we look northerly toward the Dan Kellogg house, attesting its 1758 origin by means of Holy Lord hinges, brick ovens, sliding blinds, and the like. Brown tells me that after Kellogg had gotten it raised, the town authorities objected that he had trespassed upon one of the forty-rod village high-ways, and received from settler Kellogg a spirited reply: "The Lord didn't lay out that road, but He did make the little hill, and He made it for a house. Move your road." On the northeast corner of

the common is the onetime Baggs Tavern, built about 1770, which recent residents of Amherst associate with May Bliss Dickinson Kimball, who maintained it for a number of years in part as museum and in part as a symbol of her state-wide organization, Mothercraft.

Turning toward South Amherst, we pass the home of General Mattoon, some four or five pre-Revolutionary houses, and the expansive farm of Miner Tuttle on Fort Hill. We note the house of Charles Hiram Thayer, historian of the Stockbridge House, who, on the basis of internal evidence, has strongly substantiated the belief that his own house was built "no later than 1772," and was possibly, in its original form, the first of the Amherst houses to be made of brick.

Resisting the temptation to linger in South Amherst with its alluring reminders of colonial days, we turn west on Shays Street, with its equally alluring reminders of modernity. Preeminent among these is the house built by Theodore Baird, in 1940, from plans by that master-mind of modernity, Frank Lloyd Wright. But at the old gristmill at the Fort River bridge, we find ourselves back again in the eighteenth century, where two gambrel-roofed houses still face each other across the stream: the one to the west built by Simeon Clark, in 1780, and now the home of Reginald French, president of the Historical Society; the one to the east built by a competitive neighbor, Martin Kellogg, similar in design but a few inches superior in dimensions. Upon this tradition is based their reputation as "feuding houses."

As the Amherst College tower is seen lifting above billows of green, we note on our right the well-known Joseph Smith place, and on our left a side street marked Memorial Drive. This serves a development of Cape Coddish houses, several of them shaded by appletrees, all of them built by the town to benefit World War veterans, and all of them now so owned and occupied.

As the driver plays the gas on the slope which leads up to the "college on the hill," we agree that, whereas the University may perhaps enjoy greater natural beauty, the College offers greater architectural interest.

The earliest buildings were conceived and created without benefit of architect. Although Hitchcock called them "an unsightly row

of bricks and mortar—mere hollow parallelopipeds divided into compartments called rooms,” they have now come to be regarded with considerable admiration. And the chapel, perhaps because its design was professional to the extent of \$25, paid to Isaac Damon of Northampton, is now referred to as the fairest ornament of the campus. College Hall has suffered similar vicissitudes of fortune and fame. It was built, in 1829, as a meetinghouse, built, according to Hitchcock, “with such a sad want of taste that it has ever been a byeword and a butt of ridicule.” Henry Ward Beecher later declared that it showed how far it was possible to go in the direction of “monstrous ugliness.” So, in 1861, the pillared portico was removed by the churchmen in an effort to render the exterior less unpleasing, and, in 1905, it was restored by its new owner, the college, for the same reason. Villagers now point to the building with pride.

It would seem that Hitchcock was under the influence of Beecher’s classmate, Orson Squire Fowler. Fowler was a prolific writer of books, upon such subjects as phrenology, hydropathy, phonography, and mesmerism; he was also a fanatical advocate of octagonal houses as conducive to both economy and health. Thus, when Hitchcock, as president, was in a position to add a building to the college plant, he told the architect what he wanted. He wanted an octagon. And he was so enchanted by this exotic edifice that he attached a similar one to his own home at the foot of the campus hill. We recall still another one, on North Prospect Street, for many years the habitation of the Howland School, but demolished in 1947.

The early buildings represented no real effort toward uniformity. The dormitories were functional-colonial, the chapel Greek, the president’s house distinguished and dignified Georgian, and the Woods Cabinet—an octagon! After the Civil War there was a trend toward stone. Morgan Library and Barrett Gymnasium had been made of Pelham gneiss; Walker Hall and Stearns Church were now made of Monson granite. Whether the last two buildings indicated an imminent stone age or only the preference of their respective donors may be subject to speculation.

Walker Hall was the idea and the gift of an eccentric physician, a Harvard man disgruntled with his alma mater. The Monson

granite was also a gift, from William N. Flynt, grandfather of Stanley King. This rather ornate building was acclaimed by Tyler as "worthy of a palace," and described by Edward Dickinson as "beautiful in design, tasteful in its proportions, ample in its dimensions, appropriate in all its appointments." It was gutted by fire in 1882, and thereafter made even more decorative. But it has never been good form to speak favorably of its appearance. "*De gustibus . . .*"

The campus church was built three years later, in 1873—a family memorial made possible by the generosity of William Stearns, the president's son. It outlasted its physical practicality and its prescribed Calvinistic piety; so to-day nothing remains but its spire, spared to remind us of bygone days, but uneasy and insecure as a companion piece to the nearby modernistic Mead Art Museum.

McKim, Mead, & White entered the campus in 1892 with Fayerweather Laboratory. Since that time the firm has provided the plans for thirty-two erections or renovations, and has thus contributed a certain artistic consistency over a period of sixty-four years.

Meanwhile the off-but-near-campus architecture has been in large measure the work of Allen Cox, of Boston. Within about thirty years all thirteen of the fraternities have built new houses, and seven of these houses are from Cox's blueprints. He also designed the Lord Jeffery Inn, the Jones Library, and several faculty houses. It would seem that, in general, his creations complement, rather than challenge, those of the New Yorkers.

We linger for a little beneath the academic elms, then worm our way through noontime traffic along Merchants Row. We pass the spot where, during the hurricane of 1938, Brown's automobile was crushed by a falling tree. Around the corner, on Amity Street, we salute the grey, gambrel-roofed house built by Nehemiah Strong, in 1744, and now, since 1916, by virtue of bequests by Laura Emerson and Mrs. Felicia Welch, the property, as well as the headquarters, of the Amherst Historical Society. It is replete with items of interest to those given to local research, and objects of envy for those dealing in antiques. The open doorway and the overshadowing buttonwoods suggest that the past and the present are one.

At Lincoln Avenue, on the northwest corner, we note the stately

residence built by Thomas Jones, in 1836, and redolent with associations hovering about the names of Eugene Field, Mary Heaton Vorse, and David Grayson. The Solomon Boltwood house, built on this site in 1745, may now be found a little to the west, and, as of 1956, is fittingly occupied by an Amherst Dickinson.

The corner house on the further side of Sunset Avenue was in its day a residential show place. When it was erected by William Burnett in 1896, the local paper awesomely observed that the cost was said to be "over \$5,000."

So we mosey along, northerly, on Sunset Avenue, lingering, however, in front of the fourth house on our right, because this was once the home of Robert Frost, the only one in Amherst which he actually owned. When it was built, in 1875, by President Goodell, it was acclaimed the last word in up-to-dateness: "a house complete in all its appointments," the *Record* said, "and furnished with furnace, hot and cold water, bathtub, washbowl, etc." But Frost must have had other reasons for liking it. As William Butler Yeats once remarked in Amherst to a rather supercilious student, "Some of us are not primarily interested in plumbing."

Sadly we glance at the Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity house; it was built, and for the rest of his life occupied, by Ray Stannard Baker. We hurry by. "Turn again backward, O Time, in your flight."

We veer to the right, and homeward, along Fearing Street. It has been a pleasant ride, enlivened by familiar scenes and memories. The streets of Amherst, we remark, are the pages of her history in a delightfully illustrated book.

Printers' Ink

FITTINGLY it was in 1825, the year that the college received its charter, that printing began in Amherst. The farsighted craftsmen were the brothers John S. and Charles Adams, and also Samuel C. Carter, although the last of these soon redirected his energies toward a bindery and other projects. John Adams came to Amherst from a press in Andover, where his personal responsibility had

been largely Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic publications. The Adamses continued their publishing business in Amherst until 1856. Their earliest press, a Ramage, was a mechanical novelty, and for weeks local people would drop in to watch it at work. The raw paper was shipped in from Boston: either by boat, unloaded at a wharf in Hadley; or by wagon, a six-day haul for six horses. This, then, was the beginning.

Newton McKeon and Katharine Cowles have edited a bibliography of local publications entitled *Amherst, Massachusetts, Imprints, 1825–1876*, and containing over seven hundred items, many of them, naturally, trivia. The earliest book was a collection of sermons by Daniel A. Clark, in 1826. The following year the firm published Edward Hitchcock's address "Scientific Agriculture," a forward-looking dissertation, especially in Amherst. Then came the maiden publication by the author of the Rollo stories. In 1834 the Adamses issued thirty-five thousand copies of the Bible. Ten years later they were advertising, among other titles: *Doddridge's Family Expositor*, the Agate Bible, the Polyglott Bible, *Domestic Education* by Heman Humphrey, *A Wreath for the Tomb* by Hitchcock, *Rules for Punctuation of Latin and Greek*. They went on to say: "We have become by purchase the exclusive proprietors and publishers of the *American Dictionary of the English Language* by Noah Webster, LL.D." They never actually printed the dictionary; but after Webster's death, in 1843, they bought 1420 unbound second-edition sets of sheets. A few months later the Merriams of Springfield took over the unsold stock and became the official editors and publishers. The first periodical published in Amherst was the *Chemist and Meteorological Journal*, which displayed a meteoric passage through the year 1826 and disappeared forever.

That same year they published the earliest Amherst news-sheet, a weekly, the *New England Inquirer*, edited by no less a personage than Osmyn Baker. Some suggestive and even prophetic interest attaches to the following notice in an early number: "We have been favored this week with no less than three articles of original poetry. Our taste in these matters has been said to be somewhat fastidious, and perhaps it is well that it is so, for if we were to publish indiscriminately whatever we receive of that commodity, we might be

as nearly overwhelmed by moonstruck ballad-mongers as we have been by writers on *education*." But in spite of this caution and concern for the philistine public, the *New England Inquirer* suffered from unwelcome contributors, or any other kind, for only two years.

In 1839 there appeared the *Amherst Gazette*, but this enjoyed an even shorter life.

But in 1844 Amherst readers were asked to subscribe to the *Hampshire and Franklin Express*, under the editorship of Samuel Nash. This paper was to be national in scope, politically Whig, and dedicated to the acquisition of a local railroad. It ran a column entitled "A Week Later from Europe." In 1862, responsive to a demand for up-to-the-minute news from the front, the *Express* appeared for some months as a daily. At the close of the war Franklin county disappeared from the masthead.

In 1868 the *Hampshire Express* became the *Amherst Record*. The editor at this time was H. M. McCloud, the ninth since Samuel Nash. A change in policy is indicated by the following announcement: "The educational institutions established here, the class of people that are being and will continue to be drawn here, the reputation of the town as foremost in educational matters and for beauty of natural scenery, all demand that a paper be established here that shall not only give local news but shall, to a certain extent, represent the educational interests of the town." More and more the popular city dailies were purveying national news; so the small-town weeklies began to withdraw from that field and to feature what was going on at home. Thus, in 1872, the *Record* published in at least a few issues an entire page of village items. In 1877 John E. Williams acquired an interest in the paper. Two years later McCloud dropped out and Williams continued as proprietor until his death in 1890.

Meanwhile the Amherst College *Student* appeared in 1868, and the M.A.C. *Aggie Life* in 1890—both of them ostensibly media of campus news. The colleges also issued other publications: year-books, literary and humorous magazines, catalogs; but often these were printed out-of-town. There have been in Amherst a large number of ephemera: the *Experiment* (1850), the *Connecticut Valley Farmer* (1854), the *Amherst Photographer* (1868), Am-

herst News (1869), the *Amherst Mail Pouch* (1870), the *Expositor* (1871), the *Amherst Transcript* (1877), the *Amherst Record Almanac* (1877), Butterfield's *World Agriculture* (1920), Garis' *Pioneer Valley* (1949). And others.

It is hard to think of the *Amherst Record* except in terms of Edward W. Carpenter, the publisher, and Charles Frederick Morehouse, the editor. The former had served under Williams in much the same capacity for fifteen years, the latter for nine.

Morehouse was the brother of Mrs. Charles S. Walker. Walker was for years a part-time newspaper correspondent in Amherst, and Mrs. Walker was the author of a number of admirable little books about the village. Morehouse was a man of parts and a natural editor. He enlivened the paper with personal news in abundance, shrewd editorial comment upon national affairs, and tidbits of acrid wit. Dogs, the weather, Meiklejohn, and Democrats were his pet peeves; he liked to think of the *Record* as "independent but Republican." He also indicated certain reservations about the local colleges and their products. Commenting upon college English courses, he once said, "Criticism . . . would be unbecoming, for the writer never attended college and never 'took' English." But somewhat excited by a Republican victory over a candidate by the name of Long, he spilled over into the following congeries of literary allusion: "sweetness and light", "it was a famous victory," "Massachusetts, there she stands," "end of Long's long trail," "in the sweat of their brows."

In both news columns and editorials he achieved variety and lightness by virtue of a playful and pithy style of writing: as when he included among the local personals the item "Sarah Bernhardt . . . died Monday night in her apartment in Paris," or announced a Hoover victory under the caption "Hoover is Who." A list of Amherst taxpayers appeared under the headline "Now Hear 'Em Growl." Reporting an outdoor festivity he wrote: "Celebration 3, Weather 2!" The celebration "won out on points. But it was a darned close squeak." His admonition to vociferous suffragettes—"Softly, sisters." His disingenuous query, "Who discovered Columbus Day?" His annual injunction, in one form or another, "Get your dog a license or a coffin." He was conservative but never stuffy. Readers might object to his opinions, but they respected

the man. He was in the habit of taking his publisher to Springfield one day every week for a coffee break, but little by little he became obsessed by fear of accident, and he finally became virtually a recluse in his North Prospect Street home. His editorial thrusts, however, never ceased to be trenchant.

Indicative of the caliber of these two men was the publication, in 1896, of *The History of the Town of Amherst, Massachusetts*, on their own initiative and at their own risk. Morehouse explained in his preface what they had in mind:

This History contains no attempt at fine writing, makes no claim to especial literary merit. It is a record of facts, written in language concise and fairly intelligible, and so arranged that the reader will have little difficulty in referring to particular subjects. Comprehensive in design, it deals with many subjects in detail, the aim being to make it especially valuable as a book of reference. It is compiled in the main from original manuscripts; copies have not been used when originals could be obtained. Many interesting and valuable documents are copied entire, liberal extracts being made from others. Especial prominence has been given to matters pertaining to the earlier history of the town. Anything of possible value concerning that history that could be secured has here been preserved. So far as possible the line has been drawn between fact and tradition. While an attempt has been made to bring the History down to date, the happenings of recent years have been accorded comparatively little space.

The book runs to nine hundred pages, and includes town meeting minutes down to the Civil War. It represents meticulous research, exacting and exhausting composition and editing, and an invigorating faith in the future. It is a well-ordered, a comprehensive, a badly indexed, and in a sense an inspired compilation.

Morehouse died in 1933 at the age of seventy-four, and Carpenter the following year at the age of seventy-eight. The *Record* was presently taken over by Robert and Margaret Jones. Then in 1946 Hamilton Newell, who had a rival printing establishment, launched a rival weekly, the *Amherst Journal*, which, under a series of editors, offered lively competition. For seven years Am-

herst enjoyed the unique, if perhaps dubious, distinction of being a small town with two local newspapers. In 1952 Alan Miller took over the *Journal*, and the following year he, with associates, bought out the *Record* and began to publish the *Journal Record*. As of 1957, however, the publisher and editor are David and Jeanine Stryker respectively.

Thus under one name or another our weekly has served a discriminating public for well over a century. It has had its ups and downs, varied its format from time to time, shifted its emphasis from national news to local personals, and from them to local features so far as the center of town is concerned. It has attracted such associate talent as that of Walter Dyer, W. R. Brown, Dorothy Van Wert, and William L. Doran. The record of the *Record* is admirable.

Amherst men have, of course, been active in journalism and the like in other places. One thinks at once of Eugene and Roswell Field in Chicago. Herbert Bridgman, perhaps more readily remembered as commander of the Peary auxiliary expedition in the Arctic, was president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. Charles Sweetser, brought up in the home of his uncle, Luke Sweetser, in a versatile career established five city newspapers. Francis C. Pray has been accorded national recognition as a collegiate public relations editor. Edward W. Lewis is currently associated with the *New York News*, and Albert P. Bergeron with the *Rochester Democrat & Chronicle*. Francis Brown is editor of the *New York Times* book review section, and "Jerry" Rand was for nearly twenty-five years with the *New York Sun*. Gilbert Grosvenor, editor of the *National Geographic Magazine*, although born in Constantinople before his father began his long professorship at Amherst College, must think of Amherst as once his home. Perhaps these will serve as illustration.

Few people in Amherst know of Francis Fobes' *Snail's Pace Press*, equipped with some fifteen hundred pounds of Greek and English type, and recently given to Dartmouth College. It was described and commended in Will Ransom's *Private Presses and their Books* in 1929.

The village of Amherst has never, since 1825, been without a bookshop. The Adams brothers were the first of such tradesmen,

supplying the needs of readers until 1871, when Edwin Nelson took over and carried on for the rest of the century. Notable among subsequent proprietors were C. Frederick Dyer, from 1910 until 1924, and then James Lowell, until 1941. Since 1937 Paul French's Jeffery Amherst Bookshop on Amity Street has provided culture and charm. Reverting to 1849, we find Mirick N. Spear opening a second store, which he continued to operate until 1902. Although the *Record* reported in 1870 that "Spear has piles of books," his stock was really much diversified; and Asa Hastings, after he took it over from Charles E. Ewell in 1916, was classified as "news-dealer." Textbooks have been on sale on the campuses, at Amherst College variously until 1925, at the University up to the present time. As of 1957 there is also Baucom's Textbook Shop. Amherst has never had a really seductive secondhand bookstore, but both the League of Women Voters and Converse Library hold annual sales.

To the illiterate, letters of the alphabet are magic. And even the literate look upon a font as an awesome thing. Education, in the modern meaning of the word, dates from the printing of the Gutenberg Bible exactly five hundred years ago. The making of a book is craftsmanship of the highest order. To have transcribed the knowledge and thinking of men to manuscript and thence to the printed page is to have fulfilled a major function and realized a major concept of education. A press, a bookshop, a schoolroom—these are indeed the triumvirate of an enlightened community. These are, in visible form, a glory of Amherst.

Highlights on Footlights

WHEN our forefathers applied the name Broadway to the street in front of Merchants Row, they were not thinking of sock, buskin, and greasepaint. Indeed it may have been after-thinking of these very things that later led to the abandonment of the name. For the theatre was not highly regarded by New Englanders in those days. To all intents and purposes the earliest road play in nearby Northampton was *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1854.

For the record, however, it must be noted that long before, in 1815 to be explicit, a play was written in our neighborhood—a tragedy, inspired by the Battle of Waterloo, and entitled *The Emancipation of Europe*. The author was none other than that versatile, theological, scientific miracle-man—Edward Hitchcock. Moreover it was produced; Hitchcock said that it “was loudly called for by the rural population, before whom it was acted with much success.” This was one year after Timothy Dwight at Yale had pontificated that actors were “objects of perfect loathing,” and that “when you go to theatres, recollect that you are to give an account of your conduct at the last day.” And Noah Webster’s daughter was confessing that she had taken part in a play at the church and “was dreadfully afraid I was wicked in doing it.” Indeed almost half a century later a senior was expelled from Amherst College because he had been seen in a Springfield theatre. In 1876 some of the college boys proposed a production of Bulwer-Lytton’s *Lady of Lyons*, the faculty were called into council, and the young Thespians were summoned to President Seelye’s office. “We were told that the theatre, even in its most innocent form, was a distraction that should not and could not be allowed.”

Dramatic readings, especially from Shakespeare, were different, and even impressionable schoolboys were encouraged to declaim Mark Antony’s funeral oration on public days. In 1869 an itinerant elocutionist named Barlow gave a program of readings in College Hall: “Darius Green and his Flying Machine,” “The Burial of Moses,” something from *Hamlet*. In 1871 Mrs. Scott-Siddons gave a comparable program, her “highest achievement,” according to the local paper, being a passage from *Macbeth*. For this event the Central Vermont Railroad put on a special train to accommodate patrons from Belchertown and Palmer, said patrons being limited to six tickets as a precaution against speculators.

The only theatricals we read about in Amherst in the 1860’s were those which the juvenile Eugene Field was staging in Lucius Boltwood’s barn. The Field boys had been in New York, where they had seen *Rosedale* at Wallach’s, “every night for two weeks or more,” according to Gene; half a dozen times, according to Roswell. At any rate this was the inspiration and model for the Boltwood productions.

In 1870 a Shakespeare Club "originated from the teachers of the high school building," and had its first meeting at Mark's Meadow. In 1879 students at the Aggie founded The College Shakespearean Club, which, during the first season, read, presumably aloud, eight of the Bard of Avon's plays; but, like the other literary societies at the college, it soon became largely social, and, in 1913, was made a chapter of Alpha Sigma Phi.

Road shows were beginning to come to Amherst, playing in the hall on the third floor of Palmer's Block. A year or so before the building burned, this hall was converted into what was pretentiously called an "opera house," provided with six sets (a street scene, a kitchen, a chamber, a parlor, a wood, and a prison), and with a curtain adorned with a picture of Shakespeare. In 1872 Leslie's Boston Company appeared at least twice in *The Streets of New York*. But the perennial favorite, even as late as 1904, was *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The town hall, which replaced Palmer's Block after the fire in 1888, included the auditorium which we know, and which, for a while, seems to have inherited the name of "opera house."

By this time Amherst College had lifted its ban against student productions, and in the class of '86, there was a boy by the name of William C. Fitch, who in later life, as Clyde Fitch, became the outstanding American dramatist of his day, and the first one to receive recognition across the Atlantic. Fitch temperamentally affected effeminate graces, and in the class plays was cast in female roles. When his alma mater conferred upon him an honorary degree, in 1902, the *Record* burred appreciatively, "Those who remember him in the senior dramatics when in college saw the promise of unusual histrionic talent." But in the *Record's* dusty files there might have been found its review of *She Stoops to Conquer*, which said, "The part of Miss Neville in the hands of Mr. Fitch was hopelessly caricatured. It was plain the actor had never seen the play and had totally misconceived the character in his agonizing airs and unnatural positions." Distance and fame make the heart grow fonder.

Amherst College began teaching Shakespeare, systematically, in 1885; the Agricultural College not until 1914. And it was not until the 1930's that both colleges began giving course instruction in

play production. Meanwhile the Amherst College dramatic club "caused much consternation," according to the 1907 *Olio*, "by attempting so great a task as *Twelfth Night*." It seems to have paid off, however, and was presented some twenty times, and as far afield as Pennsylvania. In 1909, 1910, and 1911, the club took Shakespeare plays, done in the Elizabethan manner, into the Middle West, terminally to Illinois. It was some score of years, nevertheless, before the society, now the Masquers, came to full circle under the direction of F. Curtis Canfield, '25, later to become dean of the School of Drama at Yale. And it was not until 1938 that it found itself ensconced in the superlatively appointed Kirby Theatre.

From the start Canfield utilized faculty wives and nearby college girls, and, in spite of antiquated accommodations in College Hall, provided impressive interpretations of plays of both classic and current distinction. And from 1938 until 1954 he had in the Kirby a playhouse attractive in appearance, equipped with every professional device, and manned by Ralph McGoun, Jr., and Charles Rogers; and here he made available for Amherst people histrionic entertainment superior to some of that on Broadway. In 1946 he wrote and produced an historical dramatization of the college, entitled *The Seed and the Sowers*.

Meanwhile, at the other end of town, the Roister Doisters, organized in 1910, were undertaking comparable plays upon another inadequate stage. Their director for a comparable quarter century was your annalist. Like Canfield, he also wrote and produced an historical drama, *John Epps*, for the college's fiftieth anniversary.

For several years, beginning with 1912, Amherst devotees trolleyed to Northampton, where, in the Academy of Music, "the first municipal stock company in America" was offering a variety of plays, some of them of literary merit. But the cultural burden was too great for Northampton's purse and personnel, and the admirable enterprise was abandoned.

The Masquers and the Roister Doisters have produced an impressive number of Shakespeare plays, often with unusual innovations. Both societies played *Macbeth*, the Masquers with a revolving stage, the Roister Doisters with an invisible ghost. Both played *Othello*, the Masquers with a negro as the Moor, the Roister Dois-

ters, in imitation of the great professionals, alternating the leads. Both did *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Both undertook to recreate the Elizabethan stage, the Roister Doisters in the livestock arena, the Masquers most memorably in the Folger reconstruction of the Globe Theatre in Washington. The Roister Doisters enacted a captivating *As You Like It* in a campus ravine.

Both societies have done six Shavian productions, including, in both cases, *The Devil's Disciple* and *You Never Can Tell*. Both have done two O'Neill's. The Masquers have done two Ben Jonson's and four Ibsen's, one of the latter being a serial presentation of *Peer Gynt*. They have also adventured occasionally and successfully with pre-Broadway vehicles. The Roister Doisters did a Goldsmith in modern dress, a group of thirteenth century miracle plays from horse-drawn "pageants," and the courtroom *Night of January 16* with alternating leads on successive nights, thereby securing from juries paneled from the audience, and also from the audiences *en masse*, different pre-determined verdicts. They also introduced elements of novelty in presenting Wilder's *The Skin of Our Teeth* and *Our Town*. It would seem, therefore, that our collegiate amateurs have afforded, not only entertainment, but sometimes imaginative, creative interpretation.

The Masquers recall with special pride their being invited, in 1933, to take to Vienna a group of American plays, and their consequent appearance at the Austrian Court Theatre, built in 1744 by Maria Theresa. But their really memorable season was that of 1938-1939, when the opening of the new Kirby Theatre was commemorated by the presentation of four Maxwell Anderson plays, after which there was a dedication of the building. At this exercise there was conferred upon the distinguished actor, Burgess Meredith, an honorary degree, with no reference to his undergraduate days at Amherst and his leaving, as he has said, "an embittered, sorrowful, non-fraternity, beflunked freshman."

Quite naturally the colleges have had no monopoly upon Thespian endeavor. Churches, social organizations, the high school, all have essayed the drama with varying success. Back in the 1870's we find the G.A.R. producing *The Old Flag*. In the 1890's a group called the Leonard Club were frequently to be seen behind footlights; one of their offerings was *R. E. Porter or the Interviewer*

and the Fairies. In 1921 another group, called the Amherst Players, launched a brief career with Mrs. George F. Whicher as Mrs. Bumstead Leigh. In the 1930's another group took the name Patterson Players in memory of Charles H. Patterson, a gifted actor and teacher at the State College, and this group is still active as of 1957. It has happened that three local groups have regaled the village with as many full-length plays in a single week. A unique program of breath-taking beauty has been the Giotto Frescoes, adapted by Henry E. Scott, Jr., from the nativity paintings in Padua, and reproduced with readers and tableaux at College Hall in 1935, and occasionally at the Kirby, during Christmas seasons, since.

Amherst has now and then been visited by theatrical celebrities: the Lunts in *The Guardsman*, Edith Wynne Matthison in Greek plays, at College Hall; Ben Greet and also the Chekhov Players, both in *Twelfth Night*, at Bowker; James Rennie and William Powell in *A Servant in the House*, at the town hall. During the summer of 1940 Kirby was host to a summer stock company, with such guest artists as Tallulah Bankhead, Jane Cowl, Ruth Chatterton, and Janet Dakin's gifted brother, Thornton Wilder. At the State College students heard monologues and readings by Cornelia Otis Skinner, Blanche Yurka, and Lillian Gish.

For nearly half a century the cinema has catered to a more popular taste than these listings would imply, on the part of both town and gown. We read that as early as 1900 Lyman H. Howe's animated pictures "have filled many engagements in Amherst." In 1909 movies appeared as resident entertainment, in the Union Block. In 1912 Lawler Brothers began to provide programs (admission "five or ten cents") in the town hall. Fourteen years later they built the theatre on Amity Street. The pictures were still silent, except for the doleful piano percussion, and far from subtle in terms of content and artistry. Hoping to raise their tone, Brinton Burnett, in 1927, installed what he called the Community Theatre in the now available town hall, but he later joined forces with the Lawlers, in deference, presumably, to essential economy. In 1934 the villagers yielded to public pressure and modernity, and authorized movies on Sunday. There is probably no one, now, who does not associate popcorn with the silver screen.

To some degree Amherst people, as distinct from collegiate alumni, have made out-of-town contributions to drama. Roger Garis had a play, *Pony Cart*, presented on Broadway in 1954. "Tad" Mosel writes highly regarded scripts for television. Kingsley Perry, Curtis Canfield, and Arthur Niedeck have operated summer stock. Canfield and G. Roy Elliott have published books on drama. During World War One, Theresa Helburn, for years a key director of the New York Theatre Guild, took courses in agriculture at the M.A.C. summer school, and later dramatized her experience for Broadway in *Allison Makes Hay*. The disputatious life of Emily Dickinson has been exploited in three New York productions, one of which, Susan Glaspell's *Alison's House*, received a Pulitzer Prize.

Thus there may be found in little Amherst, far from the garish glory of Times Square, both drama and dramatics, a lively world of engaging make-believe. Sometimes our projections have been realized with artistry and taste; sometimes they have been anaemic and even banal. Could Shakespeare look in upon us and our histrionic creations, he might recall a remark that he once put into the mouth of one of his own: "The best in this kind are but shadows; and the worst are no worse if imagination amend them." Shakespeare knew.

With Clef and Palette

THE Ninevah tablets in the Mead Art Building at Amherst College tell us, in the words of George Whicher, "that men living beside the Tigris three thousand years ago were akin to us in their love of comeliness, their pleasure in the high excitement and luminous order of art." And we are akin to them.

There was singing, of course, and, we trust whistling, in Precinct Days. Dr. Seth Coleman referred in his journal to a singing school in the home of the elder David Parsons. In 1795 South Amherst hired a "singing master." We are told that a Mr. Griffiths, who started the first dancing school in Northampton in 1794, "also had another school in Amherst." The Hadley chest is an evidence of our delight in design. There was undoubtedly music at Amherst

Academy, but, whereas drawing was officially included among the “ornamental branches of Female education” very early, music had to wait. The village church assembled a choir in 1830, and by 1860 all of the other churches had done the same. The tuning fork gave way to the viol, and the viol to the organ. Emily Dickinson, and a few other young ladies, had a piano. In 1857 Hattie Crane was advertising in the *Express* for music pupils. In 1871 the culturally unregarded Aggies had a choir, a glee club, and an orchestra. And in 1894, by virtue of the advocacy of “Old Doc” Hitchcock, William Bigelow joined the faculty of Amherst College.

Bigelow has been our greatest personality in the realm of music. And our greatest single influence. Incidentally he was a local boy and Amherst, '89. That campus music was a lively interest during his student days is suggested by the fact that the glee club, in 1894, had the temerity to tour in England. It was Charles Cobb, who later, largely, coached the glee clubs. But it was Bigelow, who, for more than thirty years, incarnated the spirit of music, and who incorporated music into the Amherst College curriculum. For nearly twenty years he provided a comparable program at the high school. He also taught at Smith. Season after season he inspired, organized, and directed all-community productions: oratorios, Gilbert & Sullivan's. These included choruses of from two to three hundred voices, an orchestra, and frequently guest professionals to fill strategic gaps. From time to time he booked for College Hall distinguished entertainers, such as Madame Schumann-Heink; and, in 1930, he launched the Amherst Community Concert Course, which, for a decade, brought to Amherst such artists as Nelson Eddy, Harold Bauer, Harold Spaulding, Madame Homer. When he retired, John Erskine, for years president of the Julliard School of Music, wrote to friends in Amherst, “I don't see how you are going to get on without him.”

With “Biggy,” and he *was* big, was always associated his teammate and accompanist, Anna Laura Kidder, who, incidentally, was petite. Her father had made violins, dozens of them. Her brother, Harry, treasurer of Amherst College, played the violin and was very active in promoting music at the Village Church. She herself was a sensitive and essential participant in numberless local concerts. On the day of the death of her mother, with whom she had

lived for years, she was scheduled for such a concert; and she played. "I should not think," she said, "of permitting my personal sorrow to inconvenience or disappoint the community." She became interested in a gifted colored boy, Jester Hairston, at the Agricultural College, lent him money to attend a conservatory, and thus made possible a notable career. In 1935 the people of Amherst acknowledged their indebtedness to "Biggy" and Laura at a testimonial dinner at the Lord Jeffery Inn.

In a sense the Bigelow mantle may be said to have fallen upon a young man at the State College—Doric Alviani. A consummate showman, Alviani has made music a living and lively thing for a host of students, has produced a series of exceedingly popular musical plays, brought Rodgers and Hammerstein to the campus to receive honorary degrees at the hands of the governor of the Commonwealth, and organized a concert course which has given thousands of subscribers the opportunity to hear great symphonic orchestras, pianists like Rubenstein and Ganz, singers like Lily Pons.

And in 1953 Fiora Contino, assisted by such singers as Dorothy Feldman, launched, *mirabile dictu*, nothing less than an all-community grand opera company. During the past five years, relying largely on local talent, it has presented as many masterpieces, each in its original language. Regardless of what the future may have in store for this audacious enterprise, it is evidence of Amherst initiative and versatility along musical lines.

Since Bigelow's time the high school has excelled in instrumental music. In 1933 its orchestra had won first place in the Junior Music Competition at the Eastern States Exposition. In 1950 a group of parents cooperated to equip its band with \$18,000 worth of instruments. Clement Schuler, its music instructor, has conducted nine tours of army posts abroad with a group of college and high school entertainers, some of them local, known as "The Kids from Home." Of course the musical clubs on both campuses have often been highly commendable; and the University band, supported by a colorful co-ed drill team, is an artistic feature of the football season.

There used to be a bandstand at the Agricultural College, and another on the village green. The latter was removed in 1905,

having symbolized and facilitated communal melodic endeavor for half a century. Amherst continued to maintain a band until 1919; and since 1953 there has been another, under the direction of Joseph Contino. There have been less reverberant groups, choral and chamber, down through the years. There was organized, in 1869, a so-called Choral Union. North Amherst, in 1919, set up a Choral Society, which continued for a decade. There have been at least two madrigal groups, one in the 1880's, the other dating from 1923 and still audible. These among many.

Various associated with Amherst have been a number of musicians who have performed professionally elsewhere: Carl Lamson, of the South Amherst Bridgman family, Fritz Kreisler's accompanist; George Harris, the president's son, a concert tenor; Walter Charmbury, concert pianist and director. And, of course, others.

In composition Amherst has rather little to show: some hymns by John F. Genung; some tunes by Amy Bridgman. But Walter Damrosch did some composing in Amherst during the summer of 1880. And the village basks in the reflected glory of James Hamilton's stirring *Lord Jeffery Amherst*, first sung in an Amherst-Williams concert in 1906.

Amherst has three chimes: memorial bells on each of the two campuses and an electric chime in the new Methodist church.

She has shared with the rest of the world the excitement and entertainment of mechanical presentation. In 1892 an Edison talking machine was exhibited in Amherst. In 1898 Howe's "animotroscope entertainment" was supported by "the wonderful graphophone." In 1902 the local paper reported that a large audience gathered to listen to "W. A. Burnett's new phonograph." As of 1957 Paul French's music shop offers convincing proof of the continued popularity of recorded music, both traditional and rock-'n'-roll. Of course every home has had its radio; it is probable that the necessary but intrusive commercials have served to keep this more magical medium from completely supplanting His Master's Voice. Still, as of 1956, there were actually, as indicated in another chapter, three local stations broadcasting periodically and largely throughout the community. However it must not be assumed that their sole reason for existence has been the musical satisfaction of their public. Because of terrestrial interference Amherst was late

in becoming televisional. Our first video set is said to have been in William Patterson's automobile service station in 1948. But by 1957 there are aerials everywhere, sometimes two or three on a single roof, and it is now possible, as Bottom would say, for the eye to hear and the ear to see the celebrities of the hour. All of these pervasive mechanical devices are a significant symbol of the new age and perhaps of a new culture.

It would be difficult to find another village with so much, so various, and so excellent music.

Quite naturally Amherst has also been productive in art. In line with the current enthusiasm over American primitives, there has been much interest in Erastus Field. He was, perhaps, an Amherst cousin once-removed. He was born in Leverett, studied portraiture briefly under Samuel Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, and in his later life maintained a studio at Plumtrees. His signboard read: "Erastus Field Portrays the Lineaments of Man and Scenes of Nature." Still he was living in North Amherst at the time of his wife's death in 1859, always attended the North Amherst church, and is buried in the North Amherst cemetery. He is still remembered, albeit not consistently, footing it down to the meetinghouse in the 1890's "in cowhide boots and with an umbrella," or, if you prefer, "with cape, stovepipe hat, and a cane." Although Mrs. Edward Hitchcock's "serene lithographs of local scenery" have historic appeal and there were other people who painted or drew, Field would seem to be our pioneer in art.

Edwin B. Child, a number of whose portraits may be seen in Amherst College halls, was a village boy. Stephen Hamilton, who came to Amherst to attend the University, has been for many years our most influential resident artist. His winter scenes, particularly those popularized as commercial Christmas cards, have received universal praise. Ian MacIver has enjoyed one-man showings in New York and elsewhere. Mary J. Coulter, better known in Amherst as Mrs. Orton Clark, is represented in the great museums in Boston, New York, Washington, Chicago, Paris, London. Lloyd Coe, the son of a local minister, did the tuberculosis Christmas seal design for 1938 while on a visit here, and Roland Coe, cartoonist for the *Saturday Evening Post*, and incidentally the *Amherst Journal*, was a resident of South Amherst for twelve years before

his death in 1954. Other professionals have been: John Hare, Helen Andrews, Roger Wolcott, Mrs. Henry Fernald, Dorothy Waugh. Mrs. Fernald's daughter, Helen, curator of the Oriental Section of the University of Toronto Museum, was referred to by the *London Post* in 1937 as "one of America's most distinguished women and art critics."

There are also the aspiring amateurs, any number of them, and occasionally surprisingly proficient. Some have daubed away by themselves, happily oblivious of current vogue or rules of rightness. But others have taken advantage of technical guidance, often in groups. As early as 1865 we read that "Miss M. L. Nims proposes forming a class of pupils in drawing and painting from still life." For many years Frank Waugh staged a "family art show" in the Memorial Building on the northern campus. Meanwhile the Amherst Art Club, under the direction of Roger Wolcott, was making an annual bow to the public in Morgan Hall. The Jones Library has frequently featured local artists in its Burnett Gallery. As of 1957 it is providing studio accommodations for a group called The Art Center, working largely under the aegis of Steve Hamilton.

Less numerous but more distinguished have been our sculptors. Amherst may lay some claim to Daniel Chester French, who lived for a little in the Stockbridge House, and attended Amherst High School. A bronze bust which he made of his father, the first president of M.A.C., may be seen in Goodell Library. In 1928 French wrote to John Tyler: "I have always looked back upon my sojourn in Amherst with great pleasure. Its environment was beautiful then as it is now. But I seem to recall that little attention was at that time given to 'village improvement,' and that, aside from its fine trees, there was little of the charm for which the town is famous to-day."

Unchallenged claims can be made for Sidney Waugh, however. To the man on the street he is best known by virtue of his designs for Steuben glass, the commercial advertising of which has been greatly enhanced by the news of a United States president's official gift to an English queen. To the profession, however, he is probably more notable on other grounds, ranging from the delicacy of his medals to the massive statuary adorning public buildings in Washington and other cities. The figure over the main entrance

to the Mead Art Building in Amherst is an example of his work.

In the Jones Library there is a bust of George Kowba, made by Helen Sahler during one of her frequent and creative summers at the home of her sister on Mount Doma. Under the title "The Happy Farmer" it was awarded the Procter Prize for Portraiture, in 1945, by the National Academy of Design.

In connection with the winter carnivals at the University there has evolved an interfraternity-sorority competition in snow sculpture so admirable in design and execution that in 1954 twelve thousand automobiles of sightseers were clocked on the streets during the carnival weekend. Perhaps the high watermark in terms of artistry was Tony Manganaro's reproduction of da Vinci's *Last Supper* in 1948.

Sculpture, however, seems to have been peculiarly subject to adolescent vandalism. By the town hall there stands an empty pedestal in memory of a bronze replica of August Kiss's "Amazon and Panther," once a feature in the home of Colonel Clark and later given to the town. Within a few years it had been so ruthlessly and repeatedly mutilated, that it had to be removed. In 1857 Governor Haydn adorned the knoll near the Amherst College Octagon with a bronze figure of the nymph Sabrina. After suffering ingenious but humiliating indignities at the hands of the students, this statue was dislodged by them and became a competitive toy as between the odd and even classes. As of 1957 the goddess is in the custody of the college authorities, but there would seem to be no real insurance against further seduction. Curiously the pontifical Henry Ward Beecher who replaced her upon the knoll has escaped sacrilege. Inspired, perhaps, by the successful mistreatment of Sabrina, the University students have achieved a comparable deposition at the expense of a bronze figure of Mettawampe, designed and cast by Randolph Johnston in 1951 as a class gift. The boulder from which Mettawampe once surveyed the campus pond remains to remind the thoughtful of sophomore irresponsibility.

The Mead Art Building at Amherst College is a memorial to William R. Mead, '67, of the famous firm of McKim, Mead and White. It contains, as a special feature, the Rotherwas room, a gracious relique from Tudor England. Under the supervision of Charles H. Morgan, the Mead gallery has become a notable reposi-

tory of significant art. William A. Burnett attached to his home a modest exhibit room, but after his death his collection was disassembled, a number of the items being given to the Jones Library.

Amherst has long recognized photography as an art form. In 1856 J. L. Lovell bought out E. G. Shumway's "Sky Light Daguerrotypes," immediately advertised "Daguerreian Rooms" for "photographs, patent sphereotypes, ambrotypes, et cetera," and continued to maintain his studio on Phoenix Row for forty-seven years. On occasion Lovell was official photographer for other colleges: Williams, the United States Naval Academy, University of Maine. Meanwhile an unpretentious little man by the name of Edgar Scott, who had ingeniously contrived a bicycle before the day of the high-wheelers, began tinkering with a crude camera, and, singlehanded, launched the picture postcard industry, at least in this vicinity. More than a million and a half of his scenic cards eventually went out from Pioneer Valley in the United States mails.

Readers should also be reminded of Frank Waugh, who sought by various devices to create artistic composition, particularly in portraiture. The Jones Library has his likenesses of ninety-six fellow townsmen, and the Goodell Library about an equal number of his fellow teachers. In this connection mention should be made of the Ercole Carlotto sketches of Amherst College faculty, on display in the Octagon.

It has been John Vondell, however, who has been most widely recognized in the field of photography. Vondell's studies have been original in conception and rich in suggestion and charm. He has been a fellow and a director in the Photographic Society of America, and also, quite naturally, a leader in the Amherst Camera Club, which was founded in 1935 to promote interest and excellence in photography.

There have been many dancing classes since the one in 1794. Perhaps the most artistic was that of Mrs. Roger Wolcott in the 1930's. Certainly the most contagious were the square dance revivals which occurred under the leadership of Lawrence Loy, after whose untimely death in 1955 four thousand people attended a country dance festival at the University in his memory.

The study and collection of antiques may not in itself qualify as an art, although such a public showing as that of the late May

Dickinson Kimball, great granddaughter of Mary Mattoon, in the Baggs Tavern, or of the Reginald Frenches in Mill Valley is, in a sense, a creative achievement. And when the Rev. Clair Luther supplements such an interest by himself making a Hadley chest, or Amos Avery, by renovating hundreds of his thousand-odd ancient clocks, we commend. John Newlon's designs in wrought iron are highly regarded. And Glatfelter's bird models. And the wood carving of Orton Clark. And the marionettes of Mrs. Ernest Le-Clair. Indeed both the number and variety of artistic hobbies like these in the village of Amherst are remarkable.

During the summer of 1943 the Jones Library was the scene of a seven-day festival, featuring music, art, drama, poetry, and gardening, and dedicated to the memory of Frank A. Waugh. It was an appropriate and a popular recognition. Waugh had set an example by his own work: not only photography but flute-playing, etching, authorship, and landscape architecture. Of six unusual children two have been mentioned in this chapter. Mrs. Waugh received from Kansas State College the unique honorary degree Master (or Mistress?) of Home Life. Primarily, however, Dr. Waugh brought to bear a persuasive faith in the efficacy of beauty, a faith that has found expression in the lives and living of many Amherst people. If any one may be properly so designated, it was he who once was our Patron of Fine Arts.

Amherst Authors—Mostly Poets

IF Concord was the outstanding literary village of America in the nineteenth century, Amherst may be so regarded in the twentieth. In terms of both quantity and quality her contribution to literature has been impressive. The wit who remarked that one could not throw a stone in downtown Amherst without hitting a poet should have added that there was always even the possibility of its being a major one. Certainly Amherst has fairly spawned authors. Some she created, and cradled; others she adopted. Moreover she has inculcated a taste for, and a love of, literature in the minds and

hearts of innumerable readers. She has become a place of poetic pilgrimage. Like Concord.

Our earliest man of letters was not a native. He came to Amherst in 1812 to work upon what has probably become the most influential book ever written in America—*Webster's Dictionary*. He was also the author of thirty-five books upon various other subjects, and he was, withal, a great personality. He established his family just north of the village green, and became very much a man of the community: he served as moderator in town meeting, and as representative in the General Court; he was a prime mover in the founding of Amherst Academy, Amherst College, and the First Church Sunday School. Six years after his removal from Amherst, in 1822, the famous dictionary made its appearance. He was always referred to, locally, as Squire Webster.

Mid-century brought into creativity three authors whose names were eventually to become household words throughout America.

Eugene Field, like Noah Webster, was a ten-year resident, but in his case it was a boyhood residence, 1856–1865. The only extant composition dating certainly from that period is a bit of doggerel paraphrase, featuring his dog Dooley and the Historical Society house:

*Oh had I the wings of a dove, I would fly
Away from this land of fleas;
I'd fly all around Miss Emerson's yard
And light on Miss Emerson's trees.*

His Amherst home was that of a cousin, Thomas Jones' stepdaughter, Mary Field French, on Amity Street. Later, as a Middle-Western journalist presiding over a very early newspaper column, "Sharps and Flats," Field occasionally referred in verse to his prankish boyhood in Amherst. His great popularity was the nationwide response to his sentimental but tender verses both for and about children: "Little Boy Blue," "the gingerbread dog," "Shut-Eye Town." No one, yet, has displaced him as America's foremost poet of childhood.

Helen Fiske, later Helen Hunt, still later Helen Hunt Jackson, was an Amherst College girl, for, from the east windows of her professorial father's home, she could look across the south common



Lovell

The Austin and Emily Dickinson Houses as they knew them



The Robert Frost Birthday Dinner

(Cole, Wilder, Frost, MacLeish, Untermeyer, Hyde Cox, Canfield)

and up at the stately tower in College Row. She spent the years of her authorial fame in Colorado Springs, but she, too, never forgot her girlhood home and friends. Professionally she was known as "H. H." In *A Century of Dishonor* she courageously exposed the white man's exploitation of Indian lands, and her novel *Ramona* was regarded as the last word in Indian fiction. Indeed, as of 1956, the Los Angeles Public Library is said to have purchased over a thousand copies of it. She was one of the few who knew about, recognized, and encouraged the genius of her great contemporary—Emily Dickinson.

Emily Dickinson, as surely every one knows, remained in Amherst and abided her time. She wrote for posterity. Soon after her death, in 1886, her sister, with the help of Mabel Loomis Todd and Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, published three small volumes of her verse and a good number of her letters, all selected and even edited with an eye to decorum in both content and style. There was a lively flurry of excitement and enthusiasm among the intelligentsia, and then, for twenty years, a relative quiescence. In the wake of the so-called Imagist Movement in American poetry, however, her niece, Martha Dickinson Bianchi, republished most of the poems and letters, and also provided a slipshod biography. Both she and every one else in Amherst were amazed at what followed. Almost overnight poetry devotees moved in from all directions to exclaim and explore.

Emily became a focus for them not only as a poet but also as a person. Not since Shakespeare's Dark Lady of the Sonnets had a nebulous lover aroused so much speculation and research. The inspiration of Emily's more amorous lyrics has been identified as each of four different men and one woman, and each identification has led to a full-length biography. The most probable of these romantic attachments is that included in the admirable *This Was a Poet*, by another Amherst author, George Frisbie Whicher. Along with a dozen or so "biographies" and Jay Leyda's day-by-day log of her life, there have been three novels about our village recluse. Broadway has witnessed three plays. Martha Graham paid tribute in an interpretive dance. Harvard has established a shrine and work-room in its Houghton Library, from which has issued Curator Thomas H. Johnson's three-volume variorum editions of

her poems and letters and his discerning study entitled *Emily Dickinson*. There are also the varied and invaluable editorial addenda of Millicent Todd Bingham, whose store of precious manuscripts, incidentally, she has entrusted to Amherst College. Pilgrims, some of them distinguished, come to Amherst to visit Emily's home and grave. A poll of the academic world, right now, would probably place her above all other woman poets.

And this is the woman who spent nearly her entire mature life in virtual seclusion behind a hedge on Main Street, and was regarded by friendly, but uncomprehending, neighbors as "a little cracked."

In 1900 President Goodell prepared a paper on Amherst authors. Stipulating at least three years as a residence qualification, he listed 101 authors and 534 titles. In a somewhat comparable paper, in 1922, Alice Morehouse Walker included 53 poets. George Whicher once remarked, "Nor can any mathematics of probability explain the high incidence of poets in Amherst." Norman Corwin once publicized Amherst as "the country's unofficial poetry capitol." Librarian Charles Green has assembled three whole roomfuls of books by and about Amherst authors. The sheer number of published items, literary or near-literary, which have emanated from our village defies compilation and taxes belief. And the unpublished items, such as Annie Crowell's manuscript, *Driftwood*, might even stagger the imagination. Your annalist is confronted by Goodell's problem of determining "residence," and also by a problem which Goodell eschewed, that of selection. An inclusive list is unthinkable, would be unreadable. Hence many of the names to be mentioned hereafter, particularly those of our contemporaries, should be considered as illustrative and not as a definitive roll of honor.

Older readers will remember the twenty-eight Rollo books, but may not realize that their author, Jacob Abbott, was on the Amherst College faculty for four years; younger readers, who have companioned with Uncle Wiggly, should know that his creator, Howard Garis, came to Amherst to live with his authorial son, Roger, in 1950. These men meet the Goodell criterion in terms of residence, and must certainly be regarded as prolific professionals.

There have been, of course, local news men, like Dr. Charles

Walker, who should be classified as authors, perhaps semi-pro; and those, like Edward Hitchcock, who have produced scores, even hundreds, of publications purveying scientific observation. Frank Waugh wrote twenty-five books, ranging in subject matter from *Landscape Beautiful* to *Home Pork Production*. Charlotte Turgon's guides to cooking are widely read. James Dexter Taylor translated the entire Bible into Zulu, and Geoffroy Atkinson's scholarly studies have been largely in French. Genung's *Rhetoric* was perhaps the most popular, and hence the most unpopular, textbook of its kind. Laurens Hickok, voluminous expositor of mental and moral science, was for twenty years a resident of our village. All such people are technically authors, and would have been so listed by Goodell, but because their writing is not highly charged with imagination, emotion, philosophy, or style, they do not greatly concern us in terms of literature. But Walter Dyer, who wrote creatively about dogs and Shays' Rebellion, does, as, indeed, does Atkinson in his book of verse called *Afternoon*.

Occasionally a prize is suggestive. Julia A. Eastman, in 1872, won a thousand dollar prize for a story, and Florence Dunbar, in 1937, a similar one for verse. Frost and Ray Stannard Baker have received Pulitzer Prizes for poetry and biography respectively. Robert Francis has been awarded a Prix de Rome. Not yet has Amherst achieved a Nobel for literature.

Baker appears in this resumé most appropriately under his pseudonym, David Grayson. He was concurrently a man prominent in public affairs at the national level and a rural-minded refugee from city streets. He came to Amherst in 1910, built a house on Sunset Avenue, embowered it with apples and fruit and bees, and lived there until his death in 1946. His *alter ego*, David Grayson, was in part fictional and in part autobiographical. Grayson's genial and contemplative observations on life, particularly country life, endeared him to a host of kindred spirits on both sides of the Atlantic. Eventually, when impostors began to capitalize upon the pseudonym, Baker permitted Grayson to write quite frankly about Amherst. As thus:

I came home by the night train, sleeping ill. As I walked
down Amity Street in the still morning, with the sunshine

warm among the bare elms and little riverlets of water from the heaped snow running in the walks, I came suddenly alive with a curious joy. Dear, quiet town! I looked out through the vista at the end of the road to the western hills, now soft with the faint blue haze of the wintry morning, and something hard, strained, worried within me began to unknit. My own hills! I looked at the friendly homes as I passed and thought of all the people within I knew so well. I thought of the lives—the joyful, tragic, sorrowful lives going on all about, and I so near to see and know, and it seemed as though I could never again leave these streets, this little town.

A number of Amherst women have published acceptable verse. Some of them, like H. H. and Madame Bianchi, enjoyed greater prestige in prose. Dora and Elaine Goodale were sisters; but Amy and Helen Bridgman were not. Jessie Valentine Thayer's songs of South Amherst were published after her death by her Smith College classmates. Eleanor Cobb contributed constantly to the *Springfield Union* and *Amherst Record*. Katherine Morse's best known book title is *Gate of Cedar*; Laura Dickinson's, *Pen Pictures*; Janet Morgan's, *The Mullein and the Myrtle*.

Mary Heaton Vorse and Margaret Briscoe Hopkins are associated primarily with fiction. Among novelists perhaps the one most popular in his own day was William Stearns Davis, President Stearns' grandson and born in Amherst.

It would be in the natural course of college events that our English teachers should be authorial, even literary; and in Amherst they have been. For example, only for example: Genung's renderings of Old Testament poetry; the critical studies of Roy Elliott, William O'Donnell, and many others; the verse of Walker Gibson and Stanley Koehler; and Stark Young's *So Red the Rose*.

When Paul French published his Amherst anthology, *This is Their Acre*, in 1937, he included: Emily Dickinson and Madame Bianchi; Robert Frost; John Theobald, a transient; George Meason Whicher, Professor Whicher's father, one of whose books was entitled *Amity Street*; Robert Francis; and David Morton. And when, four years later, Maxwell Goldberg, who has brought to Amherst the national headquarters of the College English Associa-

tion, published *Amherst as Poetry*, he included all of these, and also your annalist and David Grayson.

David Morton was a sensitive and spontaneous lyrist. He has been known to write a sonnet, his favorite pattern, while awaiting his turn at the dentist's. A chivalrous and athletic Southerner, he once flattened a burly fellow who had been discourteous to his landlady—a rugged gesture that won the hearts of our young collegians. During his score of years at Amherst College, he was not only himself a poet, but a patron of poetry. Thus he brought into his classroom many guests of literary distinction. He also lifted any number of boys, upon both campuses, into the realm of creative effort. The overtones of his caressive voice reciting verse, and always from memory, were something one does not forget.

Robert Francis, living with his books and dreams at "Fort Juniper," just "up" from Cushman, is another gifted artist in words. A shrewd and reflective observer of the foibles of both men and nature, he has perpetuated them lyrically with unhackneyed idiom and sympathetic understanding. In suggestive understatement he brings to bear both sentiment and good sense. No Amherst poet has been more truly a dedicated spirit.

In 1954 the University's Literary Society compiled for the American Association of Educational Broadcasters a series of recordings by living poets, entitled *New England Anthology*. The local contributors were: Frost, Morton, and Francis; Arnold Kenseth, the South Amherst minister; your annalist; and George F. Whicher, whose posthumous tribute to Emily Dickinson was read by his son Stephen. Whicher, a masterly editor and scholarly writer, was perhaps temperamentally at his best in criticism. Certainly, for thirty years, his reviews of current books delighted the readers of the *New York Herald Tribune*.

There have been many books in which Amherst has appeared as subject matter. All of those about Emily Dickinson have undertaken to recreate the Amherst of her day. Biographies of prominent people only briefly associated with town or gown, like Calvin Coolidge and Clyde Fitch, as well as those of longer residents, like Stanley King and Harlan Stone, contain much background material. Of greater interest, however, are the books of reminiscence, such as John Erskine's *Memories of Certain People* and *My Life as*

a Teacher, and David Grayson's *Under My Elm* and *A Countryman's Year*.

There have been some books, more or less literary, definitely about Amherst. Alice Morehouse Walker wrote a number of these, as, for example, *Ye Amherst Girl of Ye Olden Tyme*. Mary Adele Allen described her girlhood delightfully in *Around a Village Green*. A similar recollection is Alfred Stearns' *An Amherst Boyhood*. Your annalist's *Heart o' Town* was an attempt to make Amherst pleasurable in verse.

Other authors have pictured Amherst, variously in disguise, in works of fiction. Henry Ward Beecher once wrote a novel, *Norwood*, in which the young hero adventured across the Connecticut River to become a student at Amherst College. A little later Helen Hunt Jackson featured the village in *Mercy Philbrick's Choice*. Albert J. Guerard exploited a onetime instructor at Amherst College in a story called *The Hunted*. Mason A. Green "satirized" in *Bitterwood*, "some of the good people of this town." Hiram Haydn, Amherst College '28, exposed the seamy side of undergraduate life in *The Time is Noon*. Under the title *We Fly Away* Robert Francis has written, somewhat intimately, of doings on North Prospect Street. Kathleen Sproul wrote a "who-dun-it," *Death and the Professors*, with Amherst very thinly veiled as its locale. Probably the most sensitive and suggestive of the college stories was written by Gerald Warner Brace, Amherst '22; it was called *The Spire*.

Amherst has, in a sense, made a contribution to literature by playing host to celebrities. But not in the spirit of servile adulation. Emerson visited the Boltwoods and lectured in Amherst on several occasions. The *Express* reported one of his lectures, in 1857, with sportive irony: "Ralph Waldo Emerson's lecture greatly disappointed those who listened. It was in the English language instead of Emersonese . . . The thoughts themselves were such as any plain, commonsense person could understand and appreciate. The subject was 'The Beautiful in Rural Life'." In 1872 the *Record* described a program by Mark Twain as "a first-class failure." We have always been wary of awe.

Harriet Beecher Stowe was often in Amherst as guest of her daughter, the wife of Rev. Henry F. Allen, rector at Grace Church.

Sandburg, Masters, Auden, Lindsay, and MacLeish have read their poems at the University, and MacLeish and Wallace Stevens came there to make recordings for *New England Anthology*. Amherst College has entertained most of these and many others: Matthew Arnold, Yeats, Thomas Mann, Amy Lowell, James Stephens. A biographer of Dylan Thomas recalled the day when the two of them drove from Amherst to Cambridge, a day that “on a number of occasions Dylan remembered as his happiest day in America.”

But the most delightful and inimitable of our lecture recitals, on many occasions and on both campuses, have been those of Robert Frost. Frost, who is usually thought of as “north of Boston,” was actually born in San Francisco, named after the greatest of Confederate generals, and first published in England. But, by virtue of his temperament, his actual farms, and the subject matter of his poetry, he belongs to New England; and, by virtue of recurrent and extended residence, to our village. “I feel as if I had lived in half the houses in Amherst,” he has remarked. He came, first, in 1916; lived here as Amherst College professor from 1923 until 1938; and since 1946 has been, for two months each year, Simpson Lecturer at that college. But if Amherst appears in his poetry, she is usually safely under cover. He has, however, sometimes said that his *Runaway* (a colt) was suggested by, if not symbolic of, the undergraduate:

*Whoever it is that leaves him out so late,
When other creatures have gone to stall and bin,
Ought to be told to come and take him in.*

On the occasion of Frost's eightieth birthday, in 1954, Amherst College was host at a testimonial dinner at the Lord Jeffery Inn. A large majority of the guests were from out-of-town. Many of them were themselves celebrities. The favors were autographed copies of a newly published, limited edition of selected poems. Tributes to the poet were presented by President Cole, Thornton Wilder, Louis Untermeyer, Archibald MacLeish, and, posthumously, George Whicher. From a literary point of view there has never been a more illustrious gathering in Amherst.

Your annalist notes that he has mentioned by name, in this

chapter, only about half as many authors as Goodell listed in 1900. The reader is invited to fill in the gaps.

A congenital Philistine might not find Amherst altogether to his liking. He could never be sure that a fellow villager might not buttonhole him to listen to a manuscript in the making. He might belatedly discover that an amiable lodger was coldbloodedly putting him into a story, his eccentricities in italics. He might find himself exposed to cultish patter apparently without a suggestion of sense. Well, there is still room among the oil wells of Texas for people allergic to poetry. And the chances are that Amherst, unlike Concord, will find her poets and poetasters becoming more lively rather than less.

One of our tradesmen once delivered himself of a critical pronouncement upon Emily Dickinson's poems. "I've been reading them," he said, "and, believe me, boys, they're a bunch of broken bottles." Nevertheless he and his associates in the center of town should be alerted to the point that they can, when necessary, direct pilgrims to Emily's grave. It may not be holy ground, but it is now historic. And to save from embarrassment any reader who may not know, this chapter concludes with the required information: the grave is located in West Cemetery, in one of the very few lots with an iron fence.

*Step lightly on this narrow spot—
The broadest land that grows
Is not so ample as the breast
These emerald seams enclose.*

*Step lofty, for this name be told
As far as cannon dwell
Or flag subsist or fame export
Her deathless syllable.*

SIX

Aspiring Enterprise, and therefrom—
Enlightenment

Master Spirits Embalmed and Treasured

“A GOOD book,” said Milton, “is the precious lifeblood of a master spirit embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life.” What, then, would he have said about Amherst? Certainly no village of comparable size is so richly endowed with libraries. And no village of comparable size has made so notable a contribution to the profession of librarianship.

There are, of course, two kinds of libraries: public and private. Although Amherst has many interesting private ones, these annals have to do only with those which may be called public. And among public libraries there are three kinds: reading, research, and memorabilia, with some overlapping. Amherst has, conspicuously, all three.

When Noah Webster came to Amherst, in 1812, he found here a public library. We know something about it. It was housed in a cupboard, which is now a collector's item, in the home of David Moody in South Amherst. And it had been serving the community for nearly two decades, for we have its constitution and bylaws as adopted on June 4, 1793. It was actually a subscription library, but any citizens willing to accept its obligations might become “propriators.” There were originally twenty-three such citizens and seventeen obligations. The document provided for: dues and fees (two dollars initiation, eighteen pence for three succeeding years, one shilling for not returning a book on time); care of books (“neatly covered with paper”); restriction in use (“every book . . . shall be used only by the proprietor himself, who shall take it out, or by some member of his family, and never shall be lent to any other person”); opportunity for exchange (“the first Tuesday of every other month between the hours of five and seven in the afternoon”). Whether the lexicographer became a proprietor we do not

know. But certainly meeting that bimonthly engagement in South Amherst was a test of literacy.

The founders of Amherst College assembled a number of volumes, "but most of them," according to Hitchcock, "although excellent for giving instruction in practical piety, were not well adapted for a literary institution." Incidentally three of the first four professors to serve as custodian had previously been principals of Amherst Academy. In 1829 trustee John Tappan told the students that if they would form an association to combat alcohol, opium, and tobacco, he would contribute \$500. The students rejected the bribe but did proceed with the association; and Tappan sent along the money, "which became the nest egg for nearly \$4000 with which Professor Hovey made very valuable purchases of books in Europe." Then, in the 1840's, another public-minded Bostonian, David Sears, donated \$10,000 toward a "Permanent Literary and Benevolent Fund." And George Merriam, founder of the firm that was to publish the Webster dictionary for over a century, gave \$1,500 more. And others too!

Thus it came to pass that in 1852 a library building was erected between the president's house and the church; by 1860 it contained 22,000 volumes; and in 1882 it was substantially enlarged and named after the man whose gift had made the enlargement possible—Henry T. Morgan. It should be noted further that during the 1860's the undergraduate literary societies—the Athenian, the Alexandrian, and the Society of Inquiry—were maintaining libraries of their own, totaling over half as many titles as were in the college collection. In a comparable diversification the village library at South Amherst had been superseded by a number of them, sponsored by the various school districts and circulating from one district to another. There was also, in 1858, the Amherst Agricultural Library Association with eighty members, but it was short-lived. It was about this time that the college library was made available for the general public in consideration of three-dollar dues. There was reading in Amherst, albeit perhaps a little sporadic.

And then North Amherst took up the torch and assumed village leadership in our propulsion toward light. In 1869 forty-five of her inhabitants paid a five-dollar initiation fee and established the

North Amherst Library Association. There were also annual dues and benefit entertainments. So successful was this enterprise that four years later the citizens of the center proposed that North Amherst make its books a nucleus of an all-town collection. Warily the North Amherstites voted to lay the proposal upon the table until such time as its advocates had raised a sum of money equal to the association's own.

However they opened their doors, without charge, to all responsible readers and thereby became Amherst's earliest free public library. In 1875 it was granted a charter as such, and was recognized in the current budget of the town. Soon after, Rufus Kellogg, a Wisconsin banker, remembered his birthplace with a \$500 contribution. In 1891 fire destroyed the schoolhouse in which the books were kept, and Mrs. Ellen E. Fisher offered \$500 toward a library building if the town would appropriate the same. The town did so. There were other donations. And on September 20, 1893, there was dedicated the earliest community library building in Amherst.

While this was going on to the north, the booklovers at the center formed an association of their own and, in 1874, began operations in the Adams Block on Phoenix Row. A five-year-old association at East Amherst joined with them, and soon they had a list of 780 card-holding patrons. This organization, although not incorporated until 1912, was to all intents and purposes another public institution. After experiencing four different headquarters and two fires, it settled more securely, in 1890, in the new town hall. By 1895 it had received a \$1000 bequest from Samuel Carter, and, with the sister organization to the north, was enjoying an income from an annual Union Lecture Course. It now had nearly 7000 volumes, catalogued in longhand by President Goodell of the Agricultural College.

In his feeling for books Goodell was a devotee. As president, he administered the college for some years from his office, as librarian, in the Gothic edifice which contained, along with an assembly hall, the institution's 16,000 volumes, predominantly agricultural. In earlier days the Social Union and the literary societies—the Washington Irving, the Edward Everett, the Shakespearean—had provided something in the way of book collections and reading rooms. But now, and for many years to come, the Chapel was the cultural

heart of the campus. When a new library was built, in 1935, under the wise direction of Librarian Basil Wood, there was no question as to its name. Goodell!

From 1899 until 1908 the librarian was Ella Frances Hall, later Ella Pray. She was succeeded by Charles R. Green, who resigned in 1921 to take over a new and, thanks to his creative and courageous imagination, a unique institution—the Jones.

Samuel Minot Jones, son of Amherst's textile tycoon, himself a successful Chicago business man, provided in his will that in case his only immediate heir should not survive to assume the estate, it should revert to the town for a library. Thus it came about that the Jones Library was duly incorporated in 1919, and two years thereafter opened up for business on the second floor of what had been the Amherst House. Five years later it was burned out, but not destroyed, in one of Amherst's major conflagrations. Meanwhile the fund, discreetly administered by trustees George Cutler, Jr., and Ernest Whitcomb, had increased to nearly the million mark, and, on November 1, 1928, the beautiful and now familiar Jones Library building was dedicated across the way. Green, who continued as librarian until 1954, was the master mind and dedicated spirit; and his building, in which conventional and utilitarian patterns were disregarded, has achieved a national reputation. Among its distinctive features are: informality made gracious by lovely furnishings and paintings, gifts from the Burnett and Burgess families; an auditorium, where, throughout the Green regime, cultural programs were presented on Sunday afternoons; the Boltwood Room for Pioneer Valley historians and genealogists; an Amherst Authors Room; memorabilia collections of Emily Dickinson, Robert Frost, and Ray Stannard Baker, who was for several years a trustee; art galleries featuring local talent; and, upon the top floor, studies providing refuge for home-harassed writers. For those interested in neighborhood matters, the Jones Library is a superlative research laboratory; for others, it is primarily a booklore center.

Curiously enough the Jones bequest proved to be a Johnny-come-lately, for several years before, Mary A. Munson had bequeathed some \$35,000 for the same purpose, and the town had thereupon assumed by eminent domain an attractive site to the

east of Sweetser Park. Fortunately actual construction had not begun. Thus it came about that in 1930 South Amherst became the recipient of the Munson Memorial Library, standing beside its church.

Little Amherst, therefore, has now three community libraries, coordinated in service. She has also the two collegiate ones. And these are maintaining along with those of Smith and Mt. Holyoke Colleges the Hampshire Inter-Library Center, currently at South Hadley but presently to be transferred into the new wing of the Goodell Library, with nearly 11,000 volumes, 285 periodical subscriptions, over 200 reels of microfilm, jitney service three times a week, and the prospect of vast expansion ahead. Wouldn't Noah Webster be impressed! And pleased!

While the village enterprises were being organized and developed, the Amherst College library was straining the seams of Morgan Hall. It had also been making conspicuous contributions to the profession. Melvil Dewey, a staff librarian from 1874 until 1877, devised, while at Amherst, the ingenious and popular Dewey Decimal System for book classification, a system now in common use throughout the country. William I. Fletcher, head librarian from 1883, immediately following the enlargement of Morgan Library, until 1911, was cofounder and coeditor of Poole's pioneer index to periodical literature, and for eight years an editor of the *A L A Index to General Literature*. Moreover for fourteen years he conducted in Amherst a "summer school of library economy," which attracted students even from distant states. Fletcher was succeeded by his son, Robert S., and it was during Robert Fletcher's term of service that William R. Mead and Dwight Morrow persuaded a New York capitalist, Edmund C. Converse, to give, in memory of his brother, an Amherst man, a sum that eventually became \$450,000 for a new library building and its upkeep. Converse Library was dedicated in 1917, and included as a grace note the New York bookroom of the Amherst College dramatist Clyde Fitch. During recent years well-stocked reading rooms have been provided in six of the dormitories and the infirmary, while Morgan Hall perpetuates its honorable tradition by serving as host for the college's memorabilia.

The most famous of the Amherst libraries, however, is paradoxical-

cally in Washington, D.C. And its story is worthy of its subject.

In March 1879 Ralph Waldo Emerson lectured for the last time in Amherst. Among those who heard him was a senior, Henry Clay Folger. Emerson was not a flaming orator, but somehow the boy caught fire. Later, in the college library, he read an Emerson essay on Shakespeare. And he caught fire again. Thus he, this undergraduate, became a devoted and dedicated Shakespearian. He was a poor boy, but after graduation he went into the oil business with Amherst's resourceful Pratts, and made money. But he never ceased to be a Shakespearian. His enthusiasm took the form of collecting, and, at the time of his death, he had assembled two thousand cases of rare books and manuscripts, most of which he had never read, some of which he had never seen. But he provided for them a palatial place of abode in the shadow of the Library of Congress. His passion for converting oil into literature was always more than commensurate with his vast earnings; indeed not until he was over seventy did he ever possess a home of his own.

The Folger Library, both as a museum and as a study laboratory, is a treasure house de luxe, and Folger entrusted it as a precious privilege and responsibility to his alma mater. It was dedicated in 1932. And the first three chairmen of the trustee library committee were: Dwight Morrow, Calvin Coolidge, Harlan Stone.

Since Folger's death there have been notable accessions to the library's holdings, the most notable, shrewdly consummated by Stanley King and Curator Joseph Quincey Adams, being the purchase of the Harmsworth Collection in England, an acquisition which provided the background needed to elevate the Folger to the very top rank of repositories in terms of the period of its specialization.

In World War Two the capitol city became an obvious target, and thus it came to pass that for some three thousand of the choicest Folger items Amherst became a place of refuge. An adequate vault was surreptitiously built into the basement of Converse Library. Arrangements were painstakingly made to have the strong-boxes of treasure transferred in a special express car under armed guards and the cover of darkness by way of the Central Vermont Railroad. Actually, because of a hotbox and consequent mischance at New Haven, they arrived in a regular car, somehow

The Village Libraries



Jones



North Amherst



Munson Memorial

Barnes

The College Libraries



Goodell

Kosarick



Folger



Converse

without guards, apparently by daylight, and over the Boston and Maine. The operation was completed, however, with routine dispatch; and the quaint folios, quartos, and their various kinsfolk resided in Amherst for nearly three years, their presence being known only to the three or four officials responsible for their safety and comfort.

Amherst, then, has six libraries and has had about the same number of outstanding librarians. As of 1957 her rare heritage is administered by: William F. Merrill at the Jones, Hugh Montgomery at the Goodell, Newton F. McKeon at the Converse, and Louis B. Wright at the Folger. In his play *The Skin of Our Teeth*, Thornton Wilder dramatized his conviction that it would be only the loss of the Great Books that might lead to the downfall of civilization. Thus our village is verily a fortress of the future, a bulwark of our way of life. May her foundations stand firm! May her guardians be resolute!

Outpost of Piety

AMHERST College was devised to be antidotal to Harvard. It recruited as students "young men of piety and talent for the Christian ministry." It undertook to guide them into and along a straight and uphill pathway toward Congregational Calvinism, disdaining the wandering way of the liberals. It sought to save the Commonwealth for orthodoxy. Noah Webster stated the issue clearly, in 1820: "We do hope that this infant institution will grow up . . . to check the progress of errors which are propagated from Cambridge." And, looking back over half a century, President Seelye declared, "Amherst College was founded to do the work that Harvard had failed to do." The Harvard heresy was Unitarianism. Thus the commitment of this new college, Emerson's "young Hercules," was perfectly clear.

If the commitment did not maintain its high potency throughout the century, certainly no comparably clear commitment took its place. And it was never officially abandoned.

As a matter of fact, its success was for many years phenomenal.

In the semicentennial alumni catalog there were listed 799 ordained ministers and 79 foreign missionaries, over forty per cent of the total number of graduates. But already there had been a falling off: in the class of 1824 seventy per cent were clergymen, in the class of 1837 sixty-eight per cent; in the class of 1843 sixty-seven per cent. This impressive, almost incredible, record suggests that Amherst College of the nineteenth century was indeed an outpost of piety. During the earlier decades it was an outpost almost literally, as of a map; in the later ones, perhaps figuratively, maintaining a defense, albeit a weakening one, at the frontier of scientific knowledge.

No college is ever the perfect image of its president, but usually there is a likeness. For the president in part creates and in part reflects the philosophy of his administration. With this in mind let us consider the five luminaries from the foundation until 1890, and also the two fading lights who followed. All of them but Gates were ordained and experienced clergymen, and Gates was something of a preacher. The deliberate declarations of these men support the conclusion that their paramount objective was Calvinist orthodoxy, shading gradually, however, into Christian character. But always the intellect was handmaid to the spirit.

President Moore in his inaugural address said as follows: "While we use our efforts to conduct those under our care in the paths of literature and science, we must always keep in mind that it is of primary importance that we be correct in our moral and religious instruction." President Humphrey was more explicit: "Every system of education should have reference to two worlds, but chiefly to the future." President Hitchcock's address was an amplification of the theme "The Religious Bearings and Uses of Education Paramount to all Others."

President Stearns once summarized his thinking by saying: "Young gentlemen, your highest attainment is the attainment of right relations toward God." Later he wrote to Samuel Williston: "What is the province of the college? It is by instruction, discipline, and all good influences to make men, especially Christian men, and most of all, ministers." President Seelye in a commencement address at Williams said: "Unless we make Christian culture the informing idea of all our educational edifice, unless we make the

Bible its cornerstone and topstone, the edifice itself will crumble."

Superficially at least, President Gates undertook to hold high the traditional torch. For example, it was his practice in conferences concerned with troublesome problems to ask for guidance from above. Once, discussing a matter of discipline with Dr. Phillips, the president, hesitant to grasp the formidable nettle firmly, prayed for wisdom, and then suggested that Dr. Phillips do likewise; whereupon the professor is said to have prayed, "Give us, O God, the courage of our convictions."

President Harris, chronologically far removed from Humphrey and Moore, declared in 1905: "The aim of the college is not to make scholars," but what he described as "the symmetrical man."

Thus the presidents were largely ministerial; in the earlier decades at least, the majority of their associates were ministerial too. Always there was an influential block on the board of trustees. The first board had ten clergymen and five laymen. The charter, when it finally materialized, prescribed seven clergymen and ten laymen; and this prescription remained legally in force until 1916.

The faculty, too, was predominantly clerical. In his farewell address Humphrey observed with satisfaction: "The professors during this time have, with a single exception, been preachers as well as scientific and literary instructors." Under Stearns, we are told, "more than half of them were clergymen." Under Seelye, "they were nearly all affiliated with the Congregational Church and had almost all received clerical training."

The technique and test of potent orthodoxy were the religious frenzy called a revival. Here the naturally open-minded youth found himself caught in the meshes of mass psychology. The students may have been aping their elders in the outside world; it would seem, however, that the revivals sprang up spontaneously among them, although, having done so, they were frequently taken over by the faculty. In 1863 Hitchcock could recall fourteen "prominent" ones, the number of conversions averaging between twenty and thirty. Ten years later Tyler said: "Since 1866 revivals have been less frequent and less powerful . . . though . . . no class has graduated, even in this period, without at least one such time of refreshing."

The revival ruthlessly and categorically separated the sheep

from the goats. The student either declared himself for God or declined to do so. In Amherst every one knew in which herd every one else belonged. When Humphrey once referred to ninety-eight of his 126 students as hopefully "pious," he was perhaps being conservative if not indeed cautious; the ninety-eight were undoubtedly sheep. Happily there were, at least in the early years, no goats among the faculty.

Frequently the meetings occasioned emotional strain and even instability. A student, speaking of the "pious members" of his class of 1822, remarked, "We spent whole days in fasting and prayer." A member of the class of 1824 testified of such a period, "At no time in the day, perhaps, could a person go into an entry and pass up to the fourth story without hearing the voice of prayer from some room." Thirty years later we find the following comment in a student diary: "Many are giving up their foul feasts on tobacco, and instead of the curse, from almost every room may be heard the voice of prayer." In 1866 Seelye reported "a truly remarkable day! At the services many were weeping convulsively and in the evening twenty expressed their new hope and experience."

The revivals were not routine, but for nearly fifty years they were recurrent and even predictable.

The Amherst course of study was at no time theological, but as presented by consecrated and evangelical teachers, it was certainly religious. The "Big Three" in classics, which our forebears referred to as "literature," had all been prepared for the ministry at Andover. Tyler's oft-repeated "corn sermon" (*Amos 8:5*) was a plea for reverent observance of the Sabbath, and such observance in his day was a rugged experience in austerity. Tyler explained his aim and method in the classroom: "Not only that I make Grecians but scholars, and not scholars but men, and not only men but Christians." Crowell, stricken with blindness, continued to conduct his classes for twenty years, imitating the pre-Christian Homer with Christian fortitude. Mather, who made Athenian culture a stirring reality for Amherst boys, still felt an obligation "to point a moral as each day's assignment was recited."

The science men, however, were the ones with a Gordian knot to resolve. Hitchcock, by compelling instinct a naturalist but by

dedication a clergyman, somehow succeeded in maintaining, even promoting, both of these conflicting loyalties side by side. He defined his "grand object" as follows: "to illustrate by scientific facts which I taught, the principles of natural theology." He was confidently determined to make "science illustrate the Divine Glory." It was the business of research to substantiate the Bible, and he never yielded an inch to the rationalistic interpreters of Darwin. It was coincidental that during the year of the publication of *Origin of Species* Hitchcock's associates presented him with a silver service in recognition of his varied and significant contributions to the college. His epitaph in West Cemetery is a convincing characterization:

*A leader in science
A lover of men
A friend of God
Ever illustrating
The cross in nature
And nature in the cross!*

Hitchcock apparently failed to indoctrinate young Benjamin Emerson of the class of '65. At any rate, when Emerson returned to Amherst as instructor in geology and zoology after three years in Göttingen, he was by no means a subscriber to the Hitchcock ideology. For nearly half a century he taught his subject objectively, but seems never to have made an issue of it. And Seelye and Gates left him alone. They tolerated him as an expert observer without endorsing his views. Seelye wanted science taught "under the guiding inspiration of the supernatural," and John Tyler, "Tip," who had spent two years at Union Theological Seminary and three years in Germany, undertook throughout his long and influential career to do just that. Little by little Calvinism was crumbling, the stronghold of Christian conviction was becoming less and less secure; still Amherst moved up to the twentieth century without capitulation.

In the social studies John Burgess fascinated a group of students with a scholarly consideration of political science. Indeed a few of them actually came back for an extra year of it without credit. But Stearns discouraged the innovation and Burgess moved on to do pioneer work in his field at Columbia.

Garman, on the other hand, the incomparable Garman, philosopher and psychologist, had had four years at Yale Divinity School; and these he never repudiated. In contrast to the dogmatism of most of his predecessors, however, he managed to manœuvre his students into the exhausting discipline of thinking for themselves. "The great thing," he said, "is to force upon a young man's mind a problem in all its seriousness." He induced them to question, to doubt, to re-correlate, ultimately to conclude. The first term of his course was devoted to psychology, the second to metaphysics, the third to ethics. Seelye, who had brought him to Amherst, was dismayed by his technique but offered no objection. Gates, however, a non-clerical fundamentalist, undertook in a competing course to neutralize his influence. Harris coasted. But, as a matter of fact, Garman had a stronger sense of moral obligation than some of his critics. While a class were floundering in a deliberately created state of uncertainty, one boy was forced, because of illness, to withdraw from college. During a forthcoming vacation Garman journeyed to the boy's home and guided him through the rest of the course into recovered faith. Garman, too, was on the side of the angels.

Even in Barrett Gymnasium there was a framed motto which read in part: "The supreme work of creation has been accomplished that you might possess a body—the soul erect. . . . Think what it may become—the temple of the Holy Spirit. Defile it not."

Thus throughout a century of intellectual unrest the Amherst faculty may be said to have been, first, a crusading, and subsequently a less assertive, corps of Christian advocates.

Although they did not dominate the campus, there were, of course, the usual religious organizations. In 1828 a number of young men secretly dedicated their lives to foreign missions, and this high-minded brotherhood, which disbanded in 1841, was succeeded by a somewhat comparable one called The Missionary Band. In 1830 there appeared The Antivenenian Society, for the promotion of abstinence: liquor, tobacco, and other carnal indulgence. In 1825 one of the students established for the local negroes something in the way of chapel service and Sunday School. In describing this undertaking he later wrote, "Sometimes there were

as many as seventy or more colored people at those meetings." Ultimately it developed into Zion Chapel.

In 1870 the appropriate dignitaries laid the cornerstone of the College Church, a gift from William F. Stearns, a son of the president. On that occasion there was indicated among the donor's desires the following: "The preacher shall always profess his full and earnest belief in the religion of the Old and New Testaments as supernatural revelation from God, and in Jesus Christ as the Divine and only Savior, who was crucified for our sins and raised again for our justification, and generally for substance of doctrine in the evangelical system of the gospel of Christ as understood by the projectors and founders of the College." This for attentive and well-informed hearers must have seemed, even in 1870, a somewhat precarious prescription.

The Y.M.C.A. was duly organized in 1882 and provided programs of Bible study and social service. But its orthodoxy had become rather watery by 1907, when Bruce Barton, the undergraduate president, took occasion to define the qualifications for membership as follows: "Any man who believes that God is always on the side of right, that Amherst is the greatest college in the world, and who is trying to do the square thing by his fellows." It is quite possible that Harris applauded.

Of course the historical significance of Amherst College during this long period was in no sense as simple as this chapter would suggest. Like her sister colleges, she was engaged in a determined effort to evolve an instrument of educational effectiveness. From the beginning there were both spiritual and secular elements involved, and lines of separation were various and nebulous. It may not be irrelevant, then, if we review briefly the seven administrations in terms of academic development.

President Moore's was terminated in 1823 by his untimely death. So great were the admiration and affection which he had inspired, however, that after his funeral the senior class, confused and desolate, "appeared before the Board of Trustees and asked to be released from all participation in any commencement exercises and from all further connection with the College."

Humphrey was president from 1823 until 1845. In appraising his contribution to Amherst, Tyler said: "He found it The Charitable

Collegiate Institution; he made it Amherst College. He found it the youngest and smallest of New England colleges; he made it second only to Yale in numbers. . . . He lived to see 430 of those who had graduated under his eye ministers of the gospel . . . and 39 missionaries in foreign fields." During his administration there were built: Johnson Chapel, "old North" (destroyed by fire in 1857), and the president's house. Actually Humphrey and the College were in a way victims of their own success; they could not maintain the pace which they had set. Financial difficulties, due in part to the panic of 1837, developed. The ardor which the new enterprise had aroused among the general public died down. Enrollments dwindled. The Legislature could not be persuaded to lend a helping hand. There were dark days on "the consecrated eminence." And Humphrey resigned.

The versatile Hitchcock took over. In the words of Stanley King: "He had come to Amherst from his parish in Conway because he thought he had not much longer to live, but that was now [1863] thirty-nine years ago. He had suffered from poor health and melancholia most of his adult life, and he was not one to bear his sufferings in silence. In spite of these handicaps he had taught at one time or another almost every science offered in the college curriculum. He had published, according to his own estimate, some twenty-four volumes, thirty-five pamphlets, ninety-four articles in journals, and eighty articles in newspapers, making a total of eight thousand printed pages. The list included poetry, books, and articles on religion, on temperance, essays, as well as four thousand pages devoted to scientific subjects. He had saved the college from extinction, secured a substantial permanent endowment, balanced the budget and kept it balanced, brought a number of distinguished men to the faculty, and built the Octagon, the library, and Appleton Cabinet."

Stearns's administration (1854–1876) was interrupted by the Civil War but was still perhaps the most constructive. He was a consecrated servant and an engaging personality. He was not a great teacher. He was troubled to remember names and faces. But men everywhere trusted him, loved him, and gave him loyal support. He attracted benefactions, and from surprising sources. Barrett Gymnasium, College Hall, Walker Hall, and the College

Church were acquired during his term of office. Contrary to expectation he proved to be also an efficient and adroit executive. His era was one of prosperity and progress. It was also, by three or four months, the longest.

Seelye gave up an assured career in Congress to become the fifth president of Amherst, and he served his alma mater in that capacity with rare effectiveness for thirteen years. Perhaps the key to his success was the fact that he placed his confidence in character. Substantial increases in endowment he invested in staff, seeking primarily personality rather than scholarly distinction. In 1880 he brought into being a student senate to share in the responsibility of handling cases of discipline; and it may be, as trustee Cornelius Patton has stoutly asserted, that this was "the first case of student self-government on record in any American college." Seelye undertook to establish Amherst as veritably "a home of mighty men."

Gates came to Amherst with a glamorous record as president of Rutgers. There is some indication that this record had gone to his head. Certainly he did not duplicate any of his previous achievements, and after a little he lost the confidence, and hence the support, of both students and staff. When he tried to be suave he seemed insincere; when he tried to be nonchalant he seemed egotistical. He resigned under fire. It is therefore ironic that during his administration Amherst College sent out into public life such a stalwart trio of sons as Coolidge, Morrow, and Stone, and that it was Gates who brought to Amherst the incomparable "Georgie" Olds.

In contrast to the turbulent Gates regime that of Harris (1899-1911) was uneventful and serene. Harris was urbane as well as witty and social-minded. It was noted with approval that he never preached for more than thirty minutes. He was a bit skeptical about Amherst's pietistic past, but had no passionate plan for her future. The campus was a pleasant place on which to play, even to work. The fraternity houses were in a sense its symbol. But, underneath the calm, something of disquietude was brewing, as indicated in 1910, when the twenty-five year reunion class—Seelye men—waited upon the trustees with a protest, recommending among other things the elimination of the so-called "scientific course," whereby, according to William Bigelow, "a man could get in, through and out with a minimum of cerebration." This period was the mild and

misleading lull before a storm, what in New England is known as a weather-breeder.

Thus Amherst terminated, "not with a bang but a whimper," her memorable mission as an outpost of piety. The long-distrusted but inevitable intrusion of worldly and intellectual considerations had been a process almost imperceptible. But what Humphrey or Hitchcock would have thought of the age of Harris would have taxed their evangelical vocabularies adequately to have expressed. The saints had given place to the sojourners. The freshman to-day who thoughtfully contemplates the statue of Henry Ward Beecher is uneasily, and probably gratefully, aware that Amherst has changed.

Renewal by Shock

THE appointment of Alexander Meiklejohn was intended to be a shot in the arm. It was.

Amherst College as of 1911 was anaemic. It was living, still comfortably, upon its past—a past that had come to be no longer stirringly significant. The campus state of mind was lackadaisical, even provincial. There were no burning issues. There were no arresting personalities. There were academic respectability and competence, but not much more.

Meiklejohn was at least a break in the pattern. He was not a clergyman; he was not even a churchman. He was thus, as it were, a renunciation of the Amherst clerical tradition. Nor was he either a classicist or a scientist; his field was logic. He was in no sense an Amherst man, neither an alumnus nor a former member of the faculty; thus he was without sentiment in regard to her men, methods, or aims. In every respect he was the proverbial new broom.

His reputation at Brown was impressive. In the classroom he had succeeded in making run-of-the-mill undergraduates not only aware of ideas, but enthusiastic about them. As dean he had been effective in student relations. His educational pronouncements had been highly provocative in the profession. And he was still young and vigorous in both body and mind. So much the trustees knew.

They also knew that among the faculty there were leanings toward Frederick Woodbridge of Columbia and George D. Olds, both of whom were well qualified, but both of whom had been associated with the old regime. If the ailing college needed a physician, it seemed that Meiklejohn would be more likely to diagnose objectively and, from his experience in other institutions, prescribe a remedy.

And for five years or so it seemed that they were right.

Meiklejohn had a positive and up-to-date policy. In his inaugural he said: "To give the boys an intellectual grasp on experience—that, it seems to me, is the teacher's conception of the chief function of the liberal college." He never hedged or qualified. The business of the college was intellect; its responsibility was related not to faith or character, but mind. Scatter-brained boys must be converted into observant and clear-thinking men. Wisdom might be expected to lead to other values, but that was a personal and not an institutional matter. Members of the faculty who were receptive to suggestion began to fall into step with him. There was academic electricity in the air.

The Meiklejohn appointments were also revitalizing: kindred spirits in social science like Stewart, Hamilton, Gettell; a spell-binder, Albert Parker Fitch, in religion; Plough in science; Marsh in physical education; Whicher, Stark Young, and, temporarily, Robert Frost in literature; Atkinson in French; and various guest "lecturers" from across the ocean. In 1920 Olds felt impelled to say: "In all my twenty-five years of connection with the College I have never known a deeper interest in things of the mind."

On the campus Meiklejohn energetically sought to bring sports back into the category of play by means of what he called "athletic disarmament." And he resuscitated Seelye's long inactive student senate.

So far—excellent!

But by 1920 he had also become a stormy petrel of controversy, and the trustees were uneasy. They had discovered two things about their dynamic Scotsman which were both surprising and disturbing.

In the first place, he had little respect for, and very little awareness of, money. He would admit that for the man on the street it

might be a daily consideration; but for a man upon the Olympian heights of pure intellect, it should be almost meaningless. And he was such a man. Anything that he wanted, for himself or for the College, if he had the cash or credit, he purchased, with little regard to budget. In his personal and also his official bookkeeping, he was color-blind—he never noticed red. During his administration the College was the recipient of over five million dollars in gifts, but not in response to his solicitation; indeed he seemed to think of these generous benefactions as a purely normal and natural phenomenon of nature. To the tycoons upon the board of trustees and to the Amherst businessmen, this Meiklejohn trait was incomprehensible and appalling.

And in a way he was almost as indifferent to his associates. He took pride in their intellectual and technical effectiveness, but, with a few exceptions, seemed to have very little feeling for them as people. He reveled in forum debate, and, when his theories were challenged, arose almost exultantly to their defense. He saw little occasion to compromise. Actually he lived in a world of ideas and acknowledged no responsibility but to truth. When the trustees questioned his policies, he suggested that they were not competent to judge. When they finally told him that a two-thirds faculty vote recommended a change in president, he became touchy and reckless in retort. The issue was not, as sometimes suggested, academic liberalism; it was incompatibility.

Reluctantly the trustees agreed that they had no choice. They asked for, insisted on, a resignation. They made every effort to keep the disaffection decorous and quiet. But when the Amherst family assembled for commencement in 1923, the campus had become a powder keg with any number of fuses. The stage was set for explosion.

By this time practically every one had succumbed to emotion. The trustees were exasperated, the president resentful and obdurate, the alumni truculent, the students largely outraged, many even brokenhearted, the faculty bitterly divided. The news of the enforced resignation leaked on commencement eve. The seniors lowered the college flag to halfmast and elected Meiklejohn an honorary member of the class. Reporters swarmed. The tension was almost unbearable.

The explosion took place upon the commencement platform. The temperature in the room was tropical; that of the audience who had succeeded in crowding into College Hall was higher. But nothing happened. Not at first. Not until Meiklejohn began to present the diplomas. It happened then. The second boy to mount the platform took the proffered diploma, said something, in a low voice, to the president, and handed it back. Immediately twelve other candidates for degrees arose from their seats and left the hall. Thereafter, at the alumni luncheon in the gymnasium, in the presence of Coolidge, Morrow, John Erskine, and other celebrities, Meiklejohn delivered an unrepentant valedictory. There were muttered curses and fervent cheers. And the spectacular drama was over. The curtain came down.

There was an immediate aftermath. Eight members of the faculty resigned in protest, and there were a few others who less pointedly followed suit.

The decision, and indeed the demonstration, would seem to have been inescapable, but whether, in the long run, the combination of the two was salutary was not altogether clear. Most of the Meiklejohn adherents left town at once. The college authorities withdrew behind a curtain of silence which, as of 1957, has never been officially lifted. For the most part the townspeople were inclined to say "Good riddance." After all, although he had sent his children to the public schools, Meiklejohn was never in an active way a citizen of the town. But Dwight Morrow, deeply involved in the whole affair, said unhappily to King in 1930; "No, Stanley, we did poorly in that business. We did not do well."

The Meiklejohn experience is important far beyond its histrionic interest. In an effort to forget the unpleasantness Amherst men may have slighted the significance. Actually it was a two-fold challenge: first, there was the administrative challenge of a disrupted organization; second, the academic challenge of an intellectual ferment. And both proved to be beneficent.

Of course such a statement, indeed any attempt to interpret Amherst's recent history, is only to invite correction and criticism. There are some facts which are incontrovertible, but simply as facts they are for most readers without very much meaning. Every annalist is entitled to an opinion, and should be expected to indi-

cate what it is. That the Meiklejohn administration was a continuing influence no really thoughtful person would deny; but how great, how good or how bad, and how long?

The administrative challenge, the simpler and more obvious one, was met and disposed of promptly. The disposition was Olds. Instinctively the trustees turned to the aging but rugged and unruffled dean, assured that he, if any one, could bind up alma mater's wounds. They made him president. And he did. He was wise and forthright and tactful. Not even an ardent Meiklejohn supporter would object to Olds. In three short years (1924–1927) he reorganized the staff and brought about a confident and cooperative esprit de corps. It might seem that in view of the hectic and widely publicized disintegration which had taken place, it would have been difficult to find teachers able and willing to replace the brilliant men who had left. But for any reader acquainted with the College as of the 1950's, Olds' galaxy of appointments was almost miraculous: Robert Frost, brought back from Ann Arbor; Paul H. Douglas, Willard Thorp, and George Taylor in economics; John Erskine, Roy Elliott, David Morton, and Theodore Baird in English; Laurence Packard and Dwight Salmon in history; Sam Williams and Warren Stifler in physics; Arthur Stanley Pease in classics; Atherton Sprague, Bailey Brown, and Scott Porter in mathematics; Ralph Williams and F. King Turgeon in French; Ralph Beebe in chemistry; Phillips Bradley in government; George Bain in geology, Gail Kennedy in philosophy, Curtis Canfield in drama, Arthur Lee Kinsolving in religion, and (should we not add?) Henry Thacher as superintendent of grounds. The faculty in 1927 was immeasurably a stronger one than it would have been had there been no crisis.

The administration of Pease (1927–1932) was a breathing spell, was so intended. The College had regained equilibrium but needed to recover its bearings. Certainly it wanted no more sensational headlines. Pease was a distinguished scholar, professionally in Latin but notably also in botany. He was the proponent of no venturesome theories in education. He had no enemies. He was without vaulting ambitions. He would, since he was asked to do so, hold the ship steadily in course. And he did, until lured away by a very congenial and complimentary appointment at Harvard.

The College was now ready for something progressive, although the trustees, still smarting under the recent devastating exposure to "liberalism," were not altogether sure of it. Morrow was dead, and some of them were sorely tempted to revert to type. George A. Plimpton, for twenty-nine years chairman of the board, the Hon. Calvin Coolidge, and Cornelius Patton all expressed themselves as in favor of a clergyman. There was also a leaning toward the sixty-two-year-old Stearns, grandson of the earlier president. Although they did not talk about it, at least in public, they remembered Meiklejohn. And shuddered. The election of Stanley King was basically a conservative decision.

As a matter of fact, King was an admirable choice. Not an educator and certainly not a clergyman, he had nonetheless a very keen mind. His scholastic record at Amherst and Harvard Law School had been spectacular. Thereafter he had gone into industry, pledging himself to retire at the age of forty. His business sense, almost an intuition, was uncanny. He had anticipated the financial crash of 1929 in time to unload most of his investment holdings, and later, as president of Amherst, he added wind insurance to the College's protection policies well before the hurricane of 1938. In 1932 he was financially independent and footloose. Moreover he had been for sixteen years an active and loyal member of the board of trustees, his special province being buildings and grounds; and he was fully cognizant of the Meiklejohn complications. Thus, in 1932, with the nation still in the throes of a depression and with a disastrous hurricane and catastrophic world war soon to be surmounted, King was the man of men for the post.

And during these years of upheaval there were to be added to the college plant: three major athletic units, two clubhouses, two dormitories, a commons, a theatre, a war memorial, a wildlife sanctuary, and various lesser items, totaling an investment of over two million dollars. King loved his alma mater, a "consecrated eminence" (to borrow a title of one of the excellent books he later wrote about her); but he liked to think of her as something visible—a beautiful embodiment of a high ideal.

This brings us to a consideration of the second challenge, that of academic ferment. The Meiklejohn decade had both a direct and an indirect effect upon the college curriculum. The shift of empha-

sis from classics, faith, and conduct to intellect and social studies was immediate and lasting. Latin and Greek gave way to modern language. The offerings in history, economics, government, art, music and drama were greatly enhanced. Such course changes were, perhaps, obvious and in line with modernity. But the considerations and the spirit which brought them about may well have been prerequisite to the more significant changes that came to pass in the 1940's.

In 1943 Prof. Charles Woolsey Cole of Columbia, a onetime student under Olds and teacher under King, was made chairman of an alumni committee to undertake a long-range study of curriculum and campus. Concurrently a faculty committee under Gail Kennedy was doing the same. When Cole became president, the recommendations of these committees were made the basis of significant changes in the course of study. The underclass program was put on a "laboratory or seminar" basis, with two-year sequences in mathematics and natural science, social studies, and the humanities. Individual research projects were encouraged. Reading periods were provided. Conventional texts were discarded, and new ones edited. Instructors in related fields, such as American studies, collaborated for common ends. The committee men who recommended and the faculty who approved these innovations were not Meiklejohn disciples and were unaware of a Meiklejohn influence, but the reader is invited to speculate whether or not the spirit of inquiry and experimentation during the Meiklejohn regime had died so soon, or departed to realms unknown. It may be a Freudian question, but for the layman it must seem that the curricular evolution which culminated during the Cole administration was in some measure the consequence of what happened in the days of Meiklejohn.

There remains to be considered whether the Meiklejohn exaltation of intellect had any lasting influence upon student conduct. Probably not a great deal. It is true that campus practices in the 1920's and thereafter would have horrified Hitchcock and Stearns, and there seems to have been no strong voice of protest. But these practices were not exclusively collegiate, and there were also two wars to which they might be attributed. King undertook to solve the problem of drinking by appeal to the code of gentlemanly



Amherst College, 1955



The Lord Jeffrey Inn

moderation. He authorized the serving of beer in Valentine Hall and permitted the maintenance of social bars in the fraternity houses, but, according to his biographer, he "was never fully satisfied." Fuess continues: "Moral standards were disregarded, even laughed at; responsibilities were ignored; the cooler heads among the undergraduate leaders often found the resulting disorder hard to control." Perhaps the most that can be said is that the reliance upon intellect and truth failed to provide social insurance in an age of futilitarian disillusionment.

Certainly some of the more idealistic campus institutions gave evidence of a loss of traditional stability. For example, in 1928, in contrast to the situation at Williams where a highly conservative policy had prevailed, the so-called honor system providing student proctoring of examinations was abandoned by common consent. The fraternities, too, apparently impregnable in their palatial chapter houses, have been variously challenged and threatened, not always to their discredit. Writing in 1934, Fuess said: "Nothing but a cataclysm could dislodge or eliminate them." But later he was to report: "There was strong sentiment among the alumni for the abolition of secret societies, and this feeling was sustained by a majority of the faculty." Indeed the Kennedy and Cole committees so recommended. It would seem that the chapters were contaminated by a kind of dry rot. They were salvaged, in a manner of speaking, but the treatment was drastic, and five of them reverted, at least temporarily, to the status of locals. Corrective provisions included: no freshman rushing, no fraternity dining halls, no discrimination in terms of race, color or creed, and at least one invitation to join for every sophomore. Along with the gains in democracy thus achieved there was a loss in brotherliness; and in 1956 Scarab, the senior honor society, responsive to a strong minority objection to nationalization and a considerable one to the fraternities per se, voted (10 to 5) to ask the trustees "to create a committee of undergraduates, alumni, and faculty to study alternatives to the existing system." Although the committee found no satisfactory alternatives, there was certainly a growing mistrust of fraternalism. It is possible that Meiklejohn's reliance on intellect imperils values for which sentiment is more essential.

The college that Charles Cole assumed after World War Two

was vastly different from Meiklejohn's before World War One, but the wars were not entirely responsible. Although Meiklejohn's personal career at Amherst was catastrophic, his crusade carried over into the middle of the century. The curricular innovations may not have been a direct result of his theorizing, but the influence of this theorizing must have been a factor. His ethical rationalization may indeed have proved a social disservice, particularly in a period of general negation. Perhaps the two elusive elements somewhat cancel out. There can be no question, however, but that the threat of dissolution enlisted Amherst men in a mighty effort which revitalized the college in a proud and heartening comeback, and in both personal and philosophic renewal. If there was some loss, there was greater gain.

Meiklejohn went to the University of Wisconsin to duplicate, in a way, both his success and his failure. And Amherst, serene on her sunny hillside, with distressful 1923 as misty as a dream, rejoicing in a wise and stirring leadership, faces the future with fortitude and faith.

The University—Manifest Destiny

THAT Massachusetts would eventually have a state university had long been obvious. The only questions were: when, and where.

In some measure awareness of this manifest destiny was existent very early. Thus Goodell said of Clark, the pioneer president: "His desire to gather about him a great university made him lose sight of the necessity of a slow and steady growth. He could not wait." Waiting, however, was destiny's stepping stone. Goodell's successor, Butterfield the ruralist, aimed at something quite other, and more unique, than a state university. His successor, Lewis, comfortably coasted. But Thatcher, constructively sensitive to changing conditions, passed on to Hugh Potter Baker a newly designated "state college," in which the emphasis had shifted, quietly but irrevocably, from agriculture to science. Virtually the only bachelor's degree was the B.S. The most popular majors were in physical and biological science. The liberal arts tradition, created by Goodell

and perpetuated throughout the Butterfield era by Mills and Lewis, was now centered in the Department of Landscape Architecture, under the spirited leadership of that versatile humanist, Frank A. Waugh. Courses in language and in literature were listed under social sciences.

Although Baker was professionally a forester, he had natural inclinations toward the arts. One of his brothers was an Amherst author with an international reputation. His wife, the daughter of a distinguished German composer and of a concert soloist, had once been traveling companion for Madame Schumann Heink. For months the Bakers had as a house guest in Amherst a professional German artist. Their European associations had been varied and cultural. Nevertheless, although the president liked to refer to himself as "a plunger," he moved circumspectly, if not indeed cautiously, toward the formal recognition of liberal arts in the curriculum. He was fully aware that neither the agricultural nor the science professors would be cooperative. Thus, in their 1936 reports to the trustees, both he and Dean Machmer indicated that the time was not yet ripe for the bachelor of arts degree. But with an ever-increasing number of girls upon the campus and an increasing desire on the part of the men for a program leading toward graduate work in liberal arts institutions, further postponement was out of the question. And so at the 1938 commencement the first B.A.'s were awarded—forty-seven of them. And Thatcher's social sciences were now, ironically, listed under liberal arts.

Throughout the Commonwealth, public and political demand for a state university had been for some years sporadic but recurrent. It represented, variously: a Labor constituency, communities ambitious to become collegiate, at least one established university dreaming of enlargement and public support, groups of active alumni. Successive legislatures shied away from the issue. In the first place, it was likely to embarrass an ever-increasing budget. Moreover there was already, in Amherst, a state college, perhaps not strategically located in terms of political or popular support, but still a flourishing, not inexpensive institution, which more or less served the purpose. Thus the bills were allowed to die painlessly in committee. The Great and General Court preferred to mark time.

As a matter of fact, the people in Amherst were also in no real hurry. Certainly the older college did not crave what Stanley King once called "a caravansary of learning" at the other end of town. As recently as 1930 the *Amherst Record* had declared editorially that a university would be "almost the most foolish undertaking the state could engage in." In the 1936 report referred to above, Baker said, "There are objectives and activities of far greater importance to the college in the years ahead than an increased student body or the conversion of the college into a university." President Marsh of Boston University, representing the Massachusetts colleges at the seventy-fifth anniversary exercises at M.S.C. in 1938, declared categorically, "We don't need any more colleges or a state university." The considered judgment in Amherst seems to have been that we did not want a university here, at least not yet; *but* that we did not want a state university anywhere else, ever.

Then came the second world war. And after that the G. I. Bill.

Young men were being demobilized in hordes. For many of them a college experience had been ruthlessly deferred, and now they were eager to embrace it. For others it had never been seriously contemplated, but now, by virtue of federal aid, it had become possible and hence desirable. Indeed, with the scarcity of attractive jobs, for quite a few displaced soldiers it might, quite possibly, have seemed to offer congenial, temporary subsistence. At any rate there was a lively and persistent knocking upon ivy-shaded doors. A survey indicated that in Massachusetts no less than twenty-eight thousand applicants had actually knocked in vain. It was true that at the state college qualified girls had often been denied admission, but these applicants were men. They were not only men; they were veterans. The lights of deliberation on Beacon Hill began to flicker, and then to glow.

Just who first mentioned Fort Devens we do not know. But, on April 14, 1946, Baker wrote to Governor Tobin to suggest that one of the deactivated army posts, Devens or Edwards, might be utilized to provide a temporary collegiate training for veterans. The Governor acted promptly, inviting the presidents of the Massachusetts endowed colleges to confer with representatives of the Commonwealth, and assuring them that "no permanent institution is contemplated." The conference was held on May 14, and on

June 8 an exploratory committee, under the chairmanship of President Conant of Harvard, recommended a "Devens Extension of the Massachusetts State College," which should provide a freshman-sophomore course of study for veterans who could meet the qualifications of the M.S.C. admissions office, and who would ultimately be transferred to the town of Amherst, this program to be administered by M.S.C. trustees in collaboration with nine other-college presidents. In spite of some temperamental hesitancy on the part of the Ways and Means Committee, an enabling act was passed by the General Court on June 14, exactly one month from the date of the Governor's conference and exactly two months from the date of Baker's letter. By July 14 a newly-appointed vice-president, Edward Hodnett, and a newly-appointed dean, Wentworth Williams, had arrived at Ayer. And by September 14 the branch college with 1310 students was ready to go. Seldom, if indeed ever before, had a school of such size come into being with such dispatch.

The Devens program ran for three years and was a conspicuous success. It trained a total of 2686 students, utilized over 300 buildings, employed an overall staff of 188 instructors. The students were housed, rather inconveniently for purposes of study, in commodious brick barracks; but the staff found the officers' cottages almost luxurious, particularly at a time when any roof was good fortune. Garages were converted into laboratories, and in some respects lavishly equipped, a library of 16,000 volumes was assembled, there were recreation halls, a golf course, and two theatres, and there was firstclass transportation service to Boston. The faculty was uneven, but included some distinguished scholars and a large number of experienced teachers. By January a full-fledged institution was functioning effectively—a miracle of mobilization.

In appraising its performance an American Council of Education survey committee seemed to feel that perhaps its most constructive contribution lay in a cooperative and democratic administration. "The Scholarship Committee, for example, was composed of three faculty members and three students. As a committee they studied all cases of student progress in the academic program and determined upon any necessary actions relating to the student's work, including taking action for the dismissal of the student from

the institution if that were warranted." Classes were small and informal, and there was much social and cultural interplay between pupils and teachers. Moreover some senior members of the staff were individualists and experimentalists, interested in what might be called progressive teaching at the college level. The students, when not conventionally well prepared, frequently compensated for their handicap by virtue of maturity and seriousness of purpose. Certainly they subsequently achieved excellent records in various colleges.

If your annalist seems to be devoting too much space to what was after all a sort of colony, it is because it is his firm conviction that if it had not been for the urgency which developed at Devens there would never have been a University of Massachusetts in Amherst.

With over fifteen hundred students at Devens in the spring of 1947 and with the Amherst campus already straining at the seams, the State College president and trustees were confronted with what might be called "a condition." It was not only the number of forthcoming transfers; it was also the fact that most of them were interested in engineering or business administration, subjects only initially implemented at M.S.C. For reasons suggested in part by the preceding paragraph the two separate campuses had been only nominally coordinated. The enabling act had designated the last date for matriculation at Devens as September 1947. What then? The Governor had come to favor a four-year program there, and the Devens staff and students were inclined to agree. But the officials in Amherst and the college presidents serving on the joint board of trustees, sensing a potential permanence in such a procedure, were not.

These circumstances, being frequently aired on Beacon Hill, led to an inescapable and a constantly more insistent demand for a state university. The question was no longer when, but where.

The Massachusetts State College was certainly not, at this time, a university. On the other hand, it was much more than a technical school. Its suggested status as a supporting and subordinate unit in an institution centered in greater Boston was hardly something which its staff, students, and alumni could view with equanimity. And so the College, officially, petitioned the General Court through legislative channels that a University of Massachusetts be author-

ized and that it be located in Amherst. It was the second part of the measure which was unpopular in Boston. "The Hub of the Universe" was the obvious place for a great institution of learning. If the city itself offered no satisfactory location, there was, for example, Framingham. Few of the objectors had ever visited the M.S.C. campus. Few of them thought of it as housing anything much more than an agricultural school. There were, of course, hearings, at which trustees, alumni, students, and friends staunchly supported the measure, and others, with equal spirit, opposed it. Your annalist remembers participating in such a hearing with Ralph Van Meter, who throughout the war had supervised the academic work of the soldiers stationed at the college. Behind the scenes, Joseph W. Bartlett, chairman of the board of trustees, was a tower of strength, particularly in matters subject to personal adjustment. Meanwhile the sands of time at Devens were running out. Decision of some sort was imperative. As the quickest, and currently the simplest, solution of their problem, the legislators, in May 1947, created the University of Massachusetts with its campus in Amherst. And Baker, by reason of illness, resigned.

There was a scramble to keep up with the law and ahead of the impending migration from Devens. Van Meter became acting president, and finally, after much persuasion, president with a capital P. His concept of organization was that of a college of arts sciences, supported by professional schools. Immediately a school of engineering was established under the direction of George A. Marston. Soon afterward there was a school of business administration. Meanwhile the unlovely voice of the steam shovel was heard in the land. More excavations. The Legislature authorized over five million dollars for building, much of it, however, in terms of self-liquidating dormitories to be erected by the University of Massachusetts (alumni) Building Corporation under the direction of trustee Alden C. Brett. In his report for 1947-48 Van Meter listed the new buildings: (Edna L.) Skinner Hall for Dean Mitchell's school of home economics, Hasbrouck Hall for physics, Gunness Laboratory for engineering, eight dormitories, four war surplus structures; and he added that funds had been provided for a second engineering unit. There were also a trailer camp and two mushroom villages for veterans. And growing pains!

Meanwhile students at Devens, hearing that they were likely to be herded four to a room, were reluctant to transfer: and their instructors, realizing somewhat resentfully that few of them would be appointed to the Amherst staff, reopened the question of establishing the arts and science program permanently at Devens. They had consummated admirably a unique educational project under congenial conditions, and for many of them new positions of comparable attractiveness were hard to find. Hodnett resigned, and Williams guided the enterprise through to its final convocation in June 1949, at which Van Meter conferred an honorary degree upon ex-Governor Tobin. And the Devens campus thereupon reverted to army post.

The infant university managed to struggle along with its overload of population. The distribution of students indicates that, nominally at least, it was assuming its proper stature. The undergraduate enrollments in 1949 were as follows: liberal arts 804, science 692, engineering 580, business administration 371, horticulture 256, agriculture 204, home economics 177, physical education 62. There were 305 students in the graduate school and 448 in the Stockbridge School of Agriculture. The total enrollment was 3899. The Devens transfers, students and instructors, became, after a fashion, reconciled to crowded quarters and classes and to courses not fully implemented, but they tended to look back upon the fraternal halls at Ayer as to a land flowing with milk and honey from which they had been rudely transplanted. They exerted a wholesome influence upon their new community, however, particularly in the promotion of student government and campus radio. And they were among the first to be graduated from the University of Massachusetts.

Actually the class of 1950 assembled 1137 members to listen to a commencement address by editor Weeks of the *Atlantic*. But the following year enrollment leveled off and gave reorganization a breathing spell to catch up with itself. The first half of the main engineering building was completed, the rest of it to be provided for in 1952; and three of the curricula were accredited by the Engineers Council for Professional Development. An alumni corporation apartment house of fifty units eased the pressure a little in terms of faculty residence. Dale H. Sieling became dean of a com-

bined school of agriculture and horticulture, including the Experiment Station and the Extension Service. Gilbert L. Woodside became dean of the graduate school, which immediately experienced a thorough overhauling and added a number of new offerings. There was a new power plant, a new Paige Laboratory for animal pathology, an appropriation for a new public health building. There were new departments of philosophy and sociology.

State universities are peculiarly subject to public and political pressure, and their product is therefore sometimes looked upon askance. The one in Massachusetts, however, has from its very beginning as an agricultural college been associated and in competition with strong and conservative endowed institutions, and consequently its standards for both admission and graduation have been high. In certain fields, as indicated in the chapter "Observers of the Natural World," they have been conspicuous. And there is evidence of scholastic excellence in other fields as well.

Thus the lowly "Aggie" of Levi Stockbridge and Clark became the state university of Baker and Van Meter.

In the spring of 1953 Van Meter suffered a stroke, and the administration of the University fell upon the shoulders of a young and recently appointed provost, Jean Paul Mather. In 1954 he was elevated to the presidency. Although their ideas regarding money and education were very different, Mather, as of this date, had certain traits in common with Meiklejohn: a fearless, self-reliant, propulsive personality; acute dissatisfaction with the status quo; an impersonal interest in people; a gift of dramatic diction. These traits contributed, in part, to his success in changing campus policies and in obtaining from a reluctant legislature certain concessions, administrative and financial, which can hardly fail to prove highly significant in the future development of the University.

The new president was disturbed by the fact that housing accommodations, as financed by Brett's alumni building association, had gotten out of line with instructional accommodations. There were nearly forty dormitories and Greek letter houses, whereas the classrooms assigned to liberal arts, social sciences, mathematics, and business administration were a converted chapel, an unconverted North College, a converted and reconverted insectary, and a war surplus cardboard annex, all officially condemned as firetraps.

Mather persuaded the trustees to restrict student enrollment, now over 4400, until this disproportion had been removed.

With educators and population statisticians everywhere broadcasting the rising tide of literacy and predicting fantastic overcrowding of schools, Mather, stoutly supported by his trustees, Governor Herter, Senator Mahar, and influential alumni on and around Beacon Hill, was able to convince the General Court that enlargement of the University plant rated budgetary top billing. Thus, in November 1956, he was able to report "\$11,339,000 appropriations for buildings and equipment for the University of Massachusetts in the last three years." And the legislature of 1957 authorized another self-liquidating apartment house and also added over \$5,000,000 more for capital outlay. Herein the transition from state college to university has been acknowledged and made visible.

Mather's other contribution was administrative. In the fall of 1955, delegating his campus supervision pretty largely to his new provost, Shannon McCune, he launched a personal public relations campaign, throughout the state but particularly in Boston, enlisting general support but pressing specifically for the passage of a so-called Freedom Bill, which would restore to the University trustees certain powers in salary adjustment among the professional staff. The subsequent enactment of this measure was an official admission, with far-reaching implications, that a university cannot be successfully developed on simply a routine departmental basis.

The establishment of two more schools, that of nursing under the direction of Mary A. Maher and that of education under the direction of Albert W. Purvis, together with the long-delayed implementation of VanMeter's college of arts and sciences, under the deanship of Fred V. Cahill, Jr., and the conversion of Sieling's school of agriculture and horticulture into a college, marked more steps toward the fulfillment of the institution's new responsibility to the Commonwealth.

The University owns about eight hundred acres in the village, as many more on Mount Toby, and twelve hundred on Mount Lincoln. It has already over eleven hundred men and women on its payroll. As the student body increases, so must the staff. Even if Amherst College holds to its determination to remain "small," it

would seem that soon almost everybody in town, except the farmers, will become to some degree academically institutionalized. As a local wit once remarked, "Every Amherst boy has a choice: he may become a professor or a janitor." There are said to be those who do not look forward altogether happily to what seems to lie ahead. Even prosperity and prestige have unpleasant complications. But the Rubicon was crossed in 1947. Our village is to be not only a college but a university town.

Investments in Literacy

IN its annual report for 1875 the Amherst school committee observed: "Every town has its distinguishing characteristics, which go to make up its capital and wealth: Turners Falls and Holyoke manufactures, Hatfield and Hadley rich farming lands, Shutesbury and Pelham mountains of granite and immense fields of birches, Amherst its colleges, public and private schools." This statement, subject to challenge in 1875, was nonetheless shrewdly prophetic.

With the two colleges to set an exceptional standard of competence and to contribute to the citizenry an exceptional proportion of teachers, it would seem that the public schools in Amherst would enjoy a correspondingly exceptional support. But the records do not so indicate. For schools cost money. Maintenance appropriations in 1796 were as follows: schools \$333; highways \$400; poor, nothing. In 1896, one hundred years later, the appropriations were: schools \$13,000, highways \$3500, poor \$2400; the last item, however, not to be thought of as the result of the first. By 1956, sixty years later, school maintenance expenditures had nearly reached the \$500,000 mark.

Teachers are not well-to-do. Moreover college property is tax exempt. It has been estimated that Amherst must depend upon only forty per cent of its valuation in maintaining its tax-supported services. During the 1890's there was a long wrangle over the right of the town to tax Amherst College property, a wrangle which led to Massachusetts Supreme Court decisions in 1898 and again in 1906. Judgment indicated that the president's house, Blake Field,

and Hallock Grove were not subject to taxation, but that the president's barn and college houses rented to tenants were. The fraternities pay taxes. In 1956 the General Court took cognizance of the situation, and Amherst was reimbursed to an amount second only to that in Boston, in lieu of loss of taxes from the educational property belonging to the Commonwealth. Still the tax rate for 1957 jumped from \$62.00 to \$70.00.

It is understandable that farmers, and indeed other residents whose property lies just inside town borders and within a stone's throw of comparable holdings less heavily taxed, should view all increases in the town budget with apprehension, and with some hostility. And other citizens of modest means, including some of the teachers, harassed by income taxes and the rising cost of living, quite naturally have reservations in regard to what seems to them luxuriousness in school equipment. In the report of 1870 we read: "With the exception of those in the Amity Street building and the new house at North Amherst, none of the schools of this grade are furnished with slates, and few of the pupils have them." No slates! When one considers the workshop machinery, the laboratory gadgets, the audio-visual aids essential in terms of the twentieth century curriculum, it may well seem to the retrospective octogenarian that current requirements are indeed extravagant. At any rate Amherst tax-payers have long been aware that, whereas public school education is indeed "free," it can hardly be said to be had for the asking.

A review of public school support may well start with 1860. There were at that time eight school districts, largely autonomous and functioning much like the church parishes. They were: #1 at the center, #2 East Street, #3 South Amherst, #4 "City" (Cushman), #5 North Amherst, #6 southwest, #7 Mill Valley, #8 southeast. The last of these has been described by John C. Hammond: "with its fire at one end, the box stove in the center, the boys' seats on the east side, the girls' seats on the west side, long spelling classes up and down the center, the big boys on the long continuous seat next the wall." But the idea that the district school should provide instruction for pupils from five to twenty years of age and even greater range in mentality was obviously unsound, and the districts had taken a first step toward grading; three of the

nineteen schools, not buildings, in line with a state law as of 1851, were now "high schools."

But it was also obvious that for each of the eight districts to undertake a graded service was inexpedient. Therefore in 1861 Amherst reorganized its system as follows: at the center a high school, two grammar schools, one intermediate, one primary; at South Amherst one grammar, one intermediate, three primaries; at North Amherst one grammar, one intermediate, two primaries; at East Street one intermediate, one primary; at Mill Valley one primary. And the school committee assumed the delicate duty of screening the pupils. The average age of those in grammar school was fourteen, in high school three years older.

We have some idea in regard to the curricula. In addition to the traditional "three R's," the primary schools offered geography; the intermediate schools offered pretty much the same; the grammar schools added United States history, algebra, bookkeeping, declamation, and, emphatically, grammar; and the high school, preparing pupils for college, listed geometry, general history, surveying, government, natural philosophy, rhetoric, astronomy, chemistry, economics, logic, and Latin.

Thus by 1864 the district school of sentimental memory, "the little red schoolhouse," was found to be outdated and was officially discarded.

For the record it should be mentioned that the earliest provision for a superintendent of schools was in 1867 and on a part-time basis. Six years later the *Amherst Record* editorialized as follows: "There seems to be considerable talk among our citizens in favor of abolishing the office of superintendent of schools. . . . It is suggested that a competent mechanic be appointed to inspect the school houses once every term. . . . We think the suggestion a good one." Indeed it was not until W. D. Parkinson assumed office in 1893 that the position was consistently filled; and in 1895 it was only after prolonged debate that the town voted that it should be continued at all. Two or three other dates are suggestive. In 1872 there was a directive prohibiting corporal punishment except as applied by a ruler to the hand. In 1885 an instructor in music was added to the staff, the old-time popular singing schools thereby being converted into "education." In 1887 the town, for the first

time, provided transportation for high school pupils from the outlying districts. In 1893, for the first time, a woman was elected to the school committee.

The test of educational enthusiasm in a community is in terms of capital outlay, major items, necessitating an increase in the tax rate and usually an issue of bonds. Over a period of years the payroll is, of course, the major item of maintenance, but its increases are gradual, almost imperceptible, and seldom lead to debate in town meeting. Nor is there likely to be any difficulty in the matter of new buildings so long as they are reasonably inexpensive. Thus, during the last century, Amherst has built or rebuilt a number of schoolhouses without serious controversy or compromise: at Cushman, in 1866; Amity Street, 1868; North Amherst, 1870; Cushman, 1889; East Street, 1893; South Amherst (two), 1901; Kellogg Avenue west, 1904; Kellogg Avenue east, 1911; Cushman, 1927; East Street, 1936.

It has been in regard to the high school that progressives and conservatives have most often come to blows in the economic arena. And, in a community whose glory lies in educational leaders, a community in which, according to the 1950 census, over twenty-four per cent of the adults are college men and women, this would seem to call for a good bit of explaining. Let it then be noted that the margin between frustration and fruition has been frequently the difference between a bare majority vote of approval and a necessary two-thirds majority vote of appropriation. With this margin of difference so slight it would seem that the considerable number of teachers might constitute the balance of power and thus be responsible for the outcome.

There have been a good number of families, most of them faculty, whose children have been sent away to school, at considerable expense, because it has been felt, quite truly, that Amherst has had somewhat less to offer in guidance, instruction, and equipment. Having solved their personal problem in this way and not without sacrifice, the parents are not likely to crusade for improvements locally. If the interest of even so small a group of such citizens had been brought to bear, it might have been enough to insure certain crucial appropriations. Moreover if the money which has gone out from Amherst for tuition had been available, our superintendent

could have marketed more advantageously for teachers. And if the pupils themselves, many of them mentally superior, had been participating in Amherst classrooms, the effectiveness of instruction might possibly have been greater. At the risk of overemphasis or oversimplification, it may perhaps be suggested that in this respect the very proponents of education may have been giving comfort to the enemy.

Amherst had built a high school on Spring Street in 1861, and added a grammar school wing in 1880. When Audubon L. Hardy became superintendent in 1898, he found six high school teachers and five classrooms, two classes meeting simultaneously in the same room. He immediately introduced into the town warrant an article calling for a \$20,000 addition to the building. The annual meeting voted favorably, but a special meeting in May rescinded the vote. This procedure provided a precedent, almost a pattern, as Amherst took up her wavering way in the direction of modernity.

Two years later Hardy tried again. At the annual meeting the town voted to build a new high school on the Sweetser lot, but at a special meeting in May an effort to raise \$48,000 for the purpose failed by about a dozen votes. At the 1910 town meeting it was voted to purchase a lot north of Kellogg Avenue as a high school site, but at a special meeting three weeks later it was voted to rescind. There followed five more years of congestion and irresolution, years that must have sapped the spirit of a superintendent no longer young. But there is no clue either in the files of the school committee or in the memories of associates or family as to why, in 1915, after the town had appropriated money for a new high school building, he should have resigned. He continued to reside in Amherst for some twenty years, a highly regarded citizen. He had established the superintendency as an indispensable service, albeit one peculiarly subject to criticism. His two immediate successors were transients, so to speak. Of the second we find that the State Board of Education refused to approve "the school committee of Amherst and Pelham in dismissing" him. The two men who followed, however, Cook and Dudley, each served for fifteen years.

At any rate, in 1915 Amherst got for herself a new high school building, sold its former site to George B. Churchill, chairman of

the school committee, and established, soon after, a junior high school on Kellogg Avenue.

It was not until 1928 that the pot was actively boiling again. There was no escaping the fact of life that more and more children were being committed to the tender academic graces of this community. And Jason Cook asked for a junior high school building. At the annual meeting an article calling for \$92,000, illegally amended from the floor to \$102,000, failed to secure the necessary two-thirds approval. But later in the day, after the opposing forces had largely and complacently abandoned the field, an appropriation for \$101,000 was passed by a narrow margin. Naturally there were repercussions, and a few weeks later, after 825 fervent contestants had heard their convictions oratorically tossed about for over three hours, another vote was taken and the measure failed to pass. Still the problem of housing remained, and after they had had a year in which to cool off, the voters rallied and built a more modest schoolhouse for the junior high. Again Amherst had reluctantly agreed to expedite the inevitable.

In 1935, early in the superintendency of Dr. L. Leland Dudley and after the community had accustomed itself to economic hard times, the voters considered a Works Progress Administration grant of \$33,000, which would constitute more than a third of the cost of a new gymnasium, but the project failed to pass by forty-four votes. Two years later, however, presumably in the spirit of repentance if not of penance, they provided what proved to be a considerably larger sum to renovate the high school building and provide therein better accommodations for physical education.

Another decade! Amherst now had representative government, but with provision for referenda to the entire citizenry upon demand. In 1947 the representatives voted to purchase the Stanisiewski farm on Triangle Street. The following year, after a stormy session, they voted, 83 to 72, to appropriate \$14,000 for plans for a new elementary school building, and subsequently, 96 to 7 but with 52 abstentions, to petition the General Court for permission to borrow \$400,000 beyond the bond limit for the same purpose. Feeling ran high. In some precincts candidates for representative who had declared themselves in favor of the measure were not elected. The annual town meeting, by a narrow margin, refused



Kosarick

University (1958) from the Southeast



to appropriate the necessary funds. It did, however, enlarge its planning committee to nine and solicit further recommendations. There was much public discussion of the plans drawn up by architect Dirks, and two members of the committee opposed them as too expensive. They were, however, presented to the town meeting and failed by 28 votes to gain the necessary two-thirds majority approval. Thereupon the proponents of the plans asked for a referendum and experienced a decisive defeat, the vote standing 939 to 1764. But *vox populi* did not solve the problem of congestion. And Dudley tossed the ball to his successor, Carroll F. Johnson.

Persistent and faithful to their trust, the school committee created a committee of twenty-three under the chairmanship of Gerald E. Haskins. This group made a careful study of the situation, held a number of public hearings, and recommended, almost unanimously, a new high school to cost \$1,250,000 and the remodeling of the two existing high school buildings for use by the lower grades at the cost of \$70,000 more. This rather took the legislative breath away. It led, however, to the representatives, in 1951, setting up a regional school district planning board of three, under the chairmanship of Arnold D. Rhodes, in the hope of less disquieting guidance. This committee recommended a cooperative project with Pelham which would entitle the towns to substantial state aid and would result in a regional high school building costing \$1,500,000. This proposal was presented to the entire electorate in December and was defeated, 976 in favor, 1276 opposed.

Still persistent but somewhat disheartened, the school committee, in 1952, proposed a modest \$575,000 elementary schoolhouse. The representatives emphatically approved, 140 to 33, but the opposition, equally persistent, secured a referendum and had no difficulty in defeating the measure.

Meanwhile the children kept crowding in. There was general objection, at least on the part of parents, to double sessions. One did not need to study the statistics to realize that the conditions were soon to become more critical rather than less. Johnson resigned in 1953 and was replaced by Ralph W. Goodrich. Although Johnson unquestionably went to a more lucrative position, it was felt in Amherst that a series of disappointments had made his decision easy. This may explain the fact that the representatives, immedi-

ately and all but unanimously, voted to enlarge the schoolhouse at South Amherst, and nobody suggested a referendum. Moreover a couple of months later it was voted, 1015 to 415, to approve a regional school district procedure with Pelham. In June, 1954, the representatives voted, 160 to 1, to proceed with the building of a \$1,500,000 high school, over half the cost of which would be raised by local taxation. And again there was no referendum. Thus, in September, 1956, the Amherst-Pelham-Leverett-Shutesbury regional high school, administered by an intertown committee, constitutionally autonomous except as the respective towns may by referendum object to a bond issue, was opened to the north of the Community Athletic Field on Triangle Street.

If the public schools of Amherst have been subject to local criticism, that does not mean that they have not been, in general and in comparison with those in other village communities, excellent. Fred C. Sears once wrote a bit of satirical verse, a characteristic stanza of which read as follows:

*Is your child's digestion bad?
Blame the schools.
Is he sick, morose, or sad?
Blame the schools.
Do your children learn to fight?
Do they lie awake at night?
Do they fail to do what's right?
Blame the schools.*

Certainly Amherst people have exercised the inalienable American right of expressing disapproval, and have perhaps assumed the traditional New England privilege of withholding praise. Perhaps, too, Amherst people are accustomed to rather high standards in educational appraisal. Quite naturally, in 1919 as it happened, a Parent Teachers Association was organized and has been active ever since. It was in 1948, however, that it clambered to its highest peak of performance.

The school committee, following Superintendent Dudley's recommendation and by a four to one vote, refused reappointment and therefore tenure to an Amity Street teacher. Her friends thereupon made an issue of it, with the result that some five hundred

citizens voted in May to conduct an overall investigation of the administration of the Amherst schools. They elected a committee, of which Vernon P. Helming was chairman and Albert E. Wood secretary. This committee held seventeen meetings and formulated some thirty questions, which Chairman Lyle Blundell of the school board and other officials answered in the *Amherst Journal*. In a final report to the P.T.A. the committee recommended further study of school practices, retention of married teachers, reporting of corporal punishment to the parents concerned, better safety precautions, closer collaboration with the State Department of Education, and the like. The *Journal* said editorially that the investigation indicated the inability of parents to understand educational problems and the failure of our administrative officers to maintain adequate public relations. The experience was not pleasant but wholesome, and characteristic of an enlightened community.

The schoolhouses of Amherst are not unique, even as symbols of struggle and sacrifice. But the story of their acquisition is somewhat surprising. That an educational center should actually be handicapped by virtue of its specialization is one of life's little ironies. Amherst's curricula have been in line with American progress. She has had perhaps more than her share of devoted and gifted teachers, many of whom have turned down tempting offers elsewhere because of the academic amenities in this our village. In far and crowded places her onetime students have demonstrated that intellectually they got a good start. At least three of her schoolboys became college presidents: Stone of Purdue, Butterfield of Wesleyan, and Gettell of Mount Holyoke. It is pleasant to think of a chief justice of the United States as a youngster in District #7 and answering a visitor's patronizing question "Should you prefer a half or a third of a pie?" by saying, "It would depend upon the kind." The college records of hundreds of Amherst public school graduates have been impressive. That it has not always been easy for Amherst to provide the kind of opportunity which her academically minded citizens have deemed essential is due in part to economic inadequacy and in part to the very loftiness of their ideal. *Ad astra per aspera!*

Lamps of Faith

THE earliest lamp was lighted in 1739. The second one in 1782. Churches! During the last hundred years Amherst has been illuminated, variously and approximately, by twelve such lamps.

The eighteenth century ones were Congregational. In architectural protest against the Church of England tradition as symbolized by its altars, all three of the Amherst sanctuaries had pulpits informally, almost casually, attached to one of the broad sides of the room. Even to-day a center aisle is looked upon somewhat askance. The Congregational concept repudiated both the ritualism and the hierarchy of the Anglican Church and emphasized covenant origin and local autonomy. By 1820, however, there had appeared a new doctrinal antagonism, that of the Unitarians. Amherst, nonetheless, for the first century of its history was exclusively Protestant and predominantly Congregational.

It was during the 1820's that new lamps began to appear. There were no unbrotherly or unchurchly motivations now as in 1782, only a normal and praiseworthy expansion of Christian enterprise. The phenomenon of creating new churches comprised three elements: a responsible administrative body—the parish; a consecrated association of worshipers—the church; and a local habitation—the meetinghouse. Whether the civil community was precinct, district, or town, this was the structure. Thus when the East Street people seceded, a new parish was organized, and the legal voters of the two parishes, all of them male, met separately to deal with the financial questions of the two churches. So strong was the feeling in regard to this arrangement that the skeleton of the system lingered on long after disestablishment in 1833, in the case of the mother church until 1906, in that of the North Amherst daughter until 1943. By then the “church” had become an incorporated body duly authorized to handle finances, and the meetinghouse was now for the most part called “the church.” Thus semantically a trinity, a verbal three-in-one, was coming to pass, together with a greater unity in purpose and procedure. But until then this division of

function and variety of names made up the outward characteristics of Congregationalism, and also, in a sense, of New England democracy.

After this manner there appeared within the space of three years, 1824–1826, three new lamps of Congregationalism.

The earliest was in South Amherst. "At a meeting held May 31, 1824, in the South Middle School House . . . it was voted . . . that a society be formed and a meetinghouse be built." Again: "May 23, 1825, the parish voted to unite with the church in a call to Rev. Mr. Chapin to settle with them in the ministry." On November 3, 1825, the present South Amherst sanctuary was dedicated.

The second was at Amherst College, in the spring of 1826. The college had been created to protect and promote Congregationalism and to prepare young men to enter its ministry. This, in part, may have led the faculty to feel that an interspersion of town and gown, even in worship, was not altogether desirable. Moreover, by virtue of a bequest by Adam Johnson of Pelham, a chapel was being erected upon the Hill. So the Church of Christ in Amherst College was conceived and instituted, and representatives of eleven neighboring churches gathered to install President Humphrey as its first pastor. Humphrey, like most of his colleagues, was an ordained minister. The new church began its career with thirty-one students, who subscribed to its Calvinistic articles of faith, and all of the members of the faculty. Over a hundred years later it accepted its last new member, Sterling P. Lamprecht, who subsequently, as clerk, recorded the death or dismissal of all of his associates.

But it was in North Amherst that the unique threefold establishment was most strikingly exemplified. The hamlets of North Amherst "Corner" and North Amherst "City" were growing and their remoteness from the meetinghouses at the Center and East Street was, in horse-and-wagon days, a considerable inconvenience. There was also the little matter of local pride and independence. So, during the summer of 1826, there was brought into being the Congregational Union Society of Amherst, which, in 1831, became quite simply the Amherst North Parish. Of its fifty-nine members only thirteen were also church members, and eight were property-owning women ineligible to vote. For over a century this organiza-

tion was to determine the financial policies and procedures of its religious counterpart, the church.

On November 15, 1826, an ecclesiastical council, presided over by President Humphrey, examined the credentials of forty-seven applicants for membership and constituted them as the North Amherst Church. The people of the hamlet had subscribed a fund sufficient to install and temporarily sustain a minister. But there was still that third essential to be provided—a meetinghouse, and this seemed somehow to be beyond their means. There were also lively differences of opinion as to what, and more particularly where, it should be.

Thus it came about that a local innkeeper, Land'od Oliver Dickinson, entirely alone, planned, built, and paid for the North Amherst meetinghouse. In his own way, Land'od Oliver was not only public-spirited but pious, but there were those whose sense of propriety was outraged when, on a tour of inspection, he rode into the new sanctuary on horseback. At any rate, in 1826 he was probably the only man in New England who privately owned a meetinghouse. He did, however, offer for sale the individual pews. Each sale was legally documented, the deeds identifying the party of the first part as "sole owner and proprietor of a meetinghouse lately erected at the north part of said Amherst." In 1835 he relinquished his claim to everything but the still unsold pews. In 1842 the building was somewhat remodeled, the pews were released and resold, and the church fell into line with the conventions of the time.

Thus, in 1826, there were in a village of less than twenty-five hundred inhabitants five Congregational churches.

The next lamp to be lighted, and soon, was Baptist. Five members of the family of Stephen S. Nelson were, on November 18, 1827, officially recognized as a branch of the First Baptist Church of New Salem. In 1830 they and a few kindred spirits transferred their allegiance to the church in Northampton. In 1831 two persons experienced immersion in the waters of Fort River. In 1832 the Amherst group, now numbering forty members, achieved local independence. In 1837 it adopted a constitution, which began as follows: "The First Baptist Church in Amherst, having erected a house for divine worship for the accommodation of themselves and others who choose to meet with them, wish to be guided by the

following regulations." The "house for divine worship" was the one we still know in 1957.

The Wesley Methodist Church in the Center was a branch of a Methodist-Episcopal Church in North Amherst "City"—Cushman, and the term "episcopal" was not dropped, officially, until 1939. Back in 1824 the Rev. Daniel A. Clark, recently dismissed as pastor of the First Church, preached for a little in the Cushman school-house. Later, when the North Amherst and Cushman people were at loggerheads in regard to the location of the projected North Church and Land'od Oliver took over as we have seen above, the Cushman people felt that they had been left somewhat in the cold. Thus, in 1842, they secured the services of a Methodist minister, Rev. E. S. Potter, who conducted divine worship for them and for the like-minded people in Hadley. There were forty-five members of the Cushman "society," and, on January 1, 1845, a chapel, built and owned by a group of proprietors, was duly dedicated.

Three years later some Methodists in Nuttingville organized, built a chapel, and for twenty-seven years maintained Sunday services, usually in collaboration with Methodists from Belchertown.

The church in the Center was for seven years a branch of the one in Cushman, but in 1875 it became a separate society, and the cornerstone of a brick building on Main Street was laid October 17, 1878.

Meanwhile, in 1864, a number of Episcopalians gathered in the "Eugene Field" house on Amity Street, and the following April they became legally organized as "the Protestant Episcopal Society known as Grace Church," and by the following April were worshipping in their new stone edifice upon the village green.

Zion Church was originally a mission lamp of Amherst College and to some degree a creature of anti-slavery convictions. Thus, in 1861, a Sunday School class was organized, or more literally reorganized, since there had been a precursor in 1825, and was attended primarily by colored children but also by most of the children of the Amherst faculty. There were nearly a hundred negro residents at this time, and eight years later a chapel was built at the corner of Northampton Road and Woodside Avenue. When the Amherst College church had become less active, in 1905, the colored people reorganized as the African Methodist Episcopal

Zion Church, and in 1909 dedicated their present sanctuary. Meanwhile some of their number, presumably sensitive to the mother faith upon the campus, established a church of their own, Congregational, and in 1907 bought the land for Hope Chapel on Gaylord Street.

The earliest Roman Catholic mass to be celebrated in Amherst was in the home of John Slater in the 1840's. It remained for Father P. V. Moyce of Northampton and the Charles Goessmanns at the Agricultural College to bring into being Saint Brigid's Church in 1870. Its sanctuary, now an apartment house on North Pleasant Street, was dedicated June 25, 1871.

From 1878 until about 1920 there was a very small Church of the Second Advent, in South Amherst. As of 1957 there is also a worshipping group of Friends.

Unity Church was chartered Universalist by nineteen persons in 1887, and functioned as such for nearly ten years. It was sufficiently strong in 1893 to build its present edifice, but, soon after, it became inactive, and was reestablished on October 8, 1898, as Unitarian.

Thus lamps of faith in Amherst have been lighted, one by one, and thus most of them still send forth their rays of hope in a troubled world.

All of the larger churches have provided parsonages and parish quarters to house their pastors and their supplementary activities. And most of them have rebuilt or extensively renovated their sanctuaries. The First Church's present edifice, for example, is the latest in a series of four. Its first one had stood near the site of the present Amherst College Octagon, its second assumed the same location in 1788, its third, erected in 1829, is College Hall. "As early as 1864 the need of a new meetinghouse became apparent, and in 1868," after twenty-four lively discussions by the parish, it was built. Austin Dickinson said: "Now people went to church. Before this we had meetinghouses and people went to meeting." The Gothic structure on Main Street, which has undergone successive modernization in 1915, 1924, 1946 and 1958, was still generally known until the turn of the century as the Village Church. There is interest, if not symbolism, in an 1868 subscription list for "a

new bell, to weigh not less than 1800 lbs and in a key to chord with the new Meneely bell in Grace Church."

The other churches, with their shorter histories, have experienced less but similar modification. As early as 1839 the Second Church edged over a little to the north and was re-embodied in substantially its present form. In 1870 Amherst College became gratefully the recipient of Stearns Church, but, with the renovation of Johnson Chapel along colonial lines in 1933, this building and its services were abandoned. Saint Brigid's erected its impressive Romanesque sanctuary in 1923, and the Methodist society its attractive home at the foot of Mount Pleasant in 1951. During the 1940's both the North and the South Churches restored their century-old interiors along period lines. The former, having been ravaged by fire, greatly enlarged its church and parish accommodations in 1954, and Grace Church, also, within the last few years, has improved both chancel and parish house, and purchased a home for a university chaplain. In 1957 the Methodists added a third unit, the adjacent Thompson House, to their holdings. In general the rebuilding has aimed toward modernization, but much of the renovating has sought to recapture architectural graces of the past.

The length of a pastorate does not necessarily indicate its significance. Some shepherds seem to work fast and effectively, and then move on into fresh fields and pastures new; others overstay their welcome. In general, the Amherst societies seem to have been sufficiently stouthearted and resourceful to eliminate incumbents no longer acceptable. For the record, however, and at the risk of misplaced emphasis, some reference should be made to the ministers who have tended our lamps of faith for, let us say, ten years or more.

The David Parsons succession, father and son, presided over the Village Church for exactly eighty years, a notable feat even in an era of long pastorates. Aaron Colton, a progressive, later served for thirteen; and Jonathan Jenkins, a builder, for ten. In the present century, the public-spirited John Hawley preached in the First Church for twenty-three years, and, after his retirement, preached in Hope Church for fourteen more. The two earliest pastors at the Second Church, Ichabod Draper and Nathan Per-

kins, Jr., graduates from Harvard and Yale respectively, rounded out a term of fifty-six years. Later Charles L. Woodworth served for thirteen before joining the 27th Regiment as chaplain during the Civil War; and after 1890 he returned as acting pastor for four years more. George A. Tuttle provided the Second Church with a period of ten years, and Clair F. Luther with one of sixteen.

Four pastors of the Amherst College Church—Humphrey, Hitchcock, Stearns, and Seelye—totaled sixty-three years, but their pastorates were incidental to their presidencies. The two earliest ministers at North Amherst, W. W. Hunt and George Cooke, qualified for this roll of honor, and within the memory of living residents there have been four others: Eben W. Gaylord, Byron F. Gustin, Frank C. Seymour, and Theodore T. Dixon. South Amherst has had three: James Merrick, who rode out the storms of a turbulent decade, James F. Gleason, with a twenty-two year record, and Eben Francis, who brought to Amherst a son who was to become one of her most gifted poets. At Saint Brigid's there have been four: the greatly loved Father Gavin, and, more recently, Father O'Malley, Father Lane, and Father Lane's associate, Father David J. Power. The Methodist clergy are traditionally itinerant and are thus automatically denied this distinction. Unity Church had Henry Ives, who purchased the local laundry for the sake of the house that went with it. These, then, are the ones who have been, in a way, most truly resident.

If the early pastorates were longer, so were the sermons and prayers. And they occurred both morning and afternoon. In 1840 we read of tithingmen in South Amherst, "Whose duty it should be to keep order in the meetinghouse," and presumably to tickle dog-weary communicants back into consciousness. But during the long prayer the men took no chances—they stood. Actually standing could hardly have been more comfortless than sitting in the box pews, uncushioned, unslanted, and unheated. In winter the wise worshiper brought a freestone. The pews, whether purchased or rented, were private domain, and sometimes subject to tax. In 1859 Edward Dickinson gave a warranty deed of his pew to M. Adams Allen "to have and to hold the before-granted premises with the privileges and appurtenances thereto belonging, to the said Allen, his heirs and assigns, to their use and behoof forever."

And speaking of appurtenances, Allen's daughter has written, "A visitor must not take a hymnbook from the rack, but must wait for the hostess to hand her the open book." In 1830 South Amherst parishioners took a surprising action: "that the money may be raised hereafter by free toleration—that is that every person may pay the sum he sees fit," but six years later they were again selling "the slips," that is the sittings. In 1846 they made another gesture toward freewill support, but, in 1867, they reverted to sale of pews, from 1883 until 1900 at auction. It was after 1900 that George W. Whitcomb, in buying the Clutia properties, acquired also Pew 49 in the Second Church. And it was not until 1915 that the First Church did away with pew rentals as a method of maintenance.

Sacred music is not synonymous with spiritual harmony, but from the beginning it has enlivened the programs of worship. There are references to "singers' seats" very early, in the days when there was no instrument but the tuning-fork. In 1790 the First Church engaged a singing master to direct its singing schools. By 1830 the churches generally were providing, perhaps employing, an orchestral trio: bass viol, violincello, and flute. But at first there were voices of protest; a violin was a device of frivolity. One outspoken pastor of this period is said to have announced with acrid sarcasm, "The choir will now fiddle and sing the one hundred and second psalm." Even the early organ was suspect—"a step toward Romanism," one First Church traditionalist muttered. "A wicked outlay of money," said another. And Deacon Leland complained that it gave his wife a headache. From the beginning of its history Grace Church has had a fine organ, and, in 1909, the First Church was given a first-class instrument. By that time a pipe organ was considered essential equipment everywhere. Among local organists there were two young men who later achieved distinction: John Erskine, the author, at Grace Church; and at the First Church, Charles H. Parkhurst, famous in his day as New York City's most spectacular reformer, and also, for thirty-eight years, pastor of its Madison Square Presbyterian Church.

It was at South Amherst that disharmony became dissension. In 1852 the church choir had a director who served without pay. The dissension had to do with this directorship, presumably in regard to the personality of the incumbent but ostensibly in regard to the

choir's, rather than the parish's, right to select him. The record as of July 30, 1854, reads: "Difficulties having arisen concerning the singing, certain members desired the church to unite with them in calling a mutual council." Although this request was denied, there followed in due time conferences, committees, even councils, to no avail. The dissenters refused to contribute toward church support, and the Rev. James L. Merrick, feeling that he had failed as mediator, offered to resign. Three years of frustration and discord! The parish voted that if the dissenters would reassume their financial obligations, all who so desired should sing in the choir and the choir should choose its chorister. The clergyman's resignation seems to have hung fire during this time, but eventually the parish voted 28 to 25 not to accept it and the church 16 to 14 to do so.

Then came the split. A new parish was organized and invited Merrick to be its minister. And a new church was also created, with a new creed and a new covenant. For eight months the rival bodies strove to function literally cheek by jowl, conducting their services at the same hour and, although on different floors, under the same roof. But, on February 12, 1859, a board of disinterested arbiters achieved a settlement, and for four years Merrick ministered unto a reasonably united parish.

Amherst was a pioneer in religious education. The Sunday School movement, which dates from 1790 in America, "was not at first looked upon favorably by the people of New England. It was regarded as a menace to the sacredness of the Sabbath," presumably because, in Amherst at least, its instruction included spelling along with Biblical texts and catechism. The Rev. Nathan Perkins, pastor of the Second Church, introduced Sunday Schools into the outlying districts of his parish in 1818. In Noah Webster's handwriting we have his own plan, as of 1820, "for a Sabbath School in the First Parish," a document containing eleven articles, and, incidentally, the assurance that "the districts may still have their 5 o'clock schools as in time past." By 1826 there were nineteen classes with an average attendance of 130. In 1828 there was a parade of 530 Sunday School members, presumably of all ages, to the First Parish meetinghouse, where the all-community assembly was addressed by President Humphrey of Amherst College. In 1836 South Amherst, unaware of the stigma of segregation, maintained one

“class of color.” By the middle of the century the enrollment at the First Church had reached 375; in 1882 that at North Amherst 184. From 1902 until 1939 the East Street South Association supported a Sunday School chapel in Nuttingville. Among the teachers at the First Church was a collegian who was later to become the most famous preacher in America—Henry Ward Beecher.

The ladies, too, began to cooperate in Christian enterprise. As early as 1837 there had come into being the North Amherst Female Sewing Society. Later Grace Church had a Ladies Sewing Society, and, still later, Saint Brigid's a Rosary and Altar Society; but the most common name was Ladies Benevolent Society. Although, as of 1957, it is Women's Union at the First Church and Marian Guild at Saint Brigid's and various nomenclature at the others, such organizations, dedicated to good works, have devotedly supported the Amherst pastors in their beneficent endeavors. There have been literally thousands of church suppers. But a service like the Clothing Exchange, initiated by Grace Church women under Mrs. Reginald French in 1948, is unique.

The Christian Endeavor Societies began to appear in the 1880's, and, like the ladies' organizations, have assumed various forms and names in their effort to keep up-to-date with the young people. With the growth of the colleges this type of service has become more and more significant. On both campuses there are religious workers associated with the local churches. The names of the college groups are indicative of the various traditions of their faith: Newman, Judson, Canterbury, Hillel, Channing, Wesley, Edwards. As of 1957 there would seem to be a reawakening of ardor among our collegians. In the class of 1956 at Amherst there were sixteen candidates for the ministry, at the University ten. Nine University men were currently in training for the priesthood. Some of the local ministers have received official part-time appointments at Amherst College; some have taught non-credit courses in religion at the University. The College is building a religious headquarters, Chapin Hall, and the University leaders have agreed to promote and provide an interfaith center.

In 1903 the First Church had, besides its Benevolent Society, the Women's Missionary Society, the Ladies Missionary Society, and the Young Ladies Missionary Society; and it would seem that

the zeal for spreading the gospel reached its peak at about this time. From all of our pulpits donations have been solicited; in all of our church parlors barrels have been packed. The First Church has listed over twenty of its members as in the foreign field, outstanding among whom, perhaps, have been the Ward family, the Daniel Bliss family, and the James Dexter Taylors. In North Amherst there has been the Parsons family; in South Amherst James L. Merrick and James G. Bridgman. Amherst College became mission-minded long before the local churches. In 1828 there was a "secret society" of thirteen young men, all of whom Tyler was to record as "familiar in the annals of missions." Presumably the College's most enduring contribution is Doshisha University in Kyoto, Japan, founded by Joseph Neesima of the class of 1870, and loyally supported by the College, and particularly by three generations of the Otis Cary family, ever since. There is also the Hokkaido Imperial University at Sapporo, organized by President Clark of M.A.C. during a leave of absence. Clark insisted upon founding it Christian, and left so strong an impress upon the Japanese that now, after seventy years, there is hardly a season passes without Oriental pilgrims appearing in Amherst to visit his grave. Moreover, as of 1958, the Universities of Massachusetts and Hokkaido are engaged in rather extensive interchange of staff, both as guests and instructors. At Taiku, in China, there was, as long as the Oberlin Shansi Mission School was spared, a classroom and assembly building, the gift of the John A. Hawley family. The name Amherst is gratefully and reverently known in foreign fields.

Religion in the early days at Amherst College was both rigid and rugged. We have glimpses of the Hitchcock Sundays in the published diary of William G. Hammond, '49. There were morning prayers at 5 A.M., church services in the morning and afternoon, and volunteer gatherings in the evening. Hammond records, "Prof. Ty preached all day," that is, both morning and afternoon. His first Sunday in Amherst is described in detail: "Up at prayers. . . . To meeting all day. The students are required to attend the services in the college chapel on Sunday. Pres. Hitchcock preached. Took a walk with Tom Shepard in the morning before service. It is not considered anything out-of-the-way for even pious men to take a walk on Sunday . . . Between P.M. service and prayers took a

stroll through some beautiful groves in the rear of the college." Writing of a period some years later Adele Allen said, "We were allowed to take a walk late on Sunday afternoon . . . Elderly people who wrote letters to family friends on Sunday dated them as of Saturday."

Weekday rules of conduct were rigid and rugged, too. The Baptists in 1835 declared it the duty of every member to belong to some temperance society. In the articles of faith and government adopted by the First Church in the 1830's we find: "In the judgment of this church no person should be received as a candidate [for membership], or continued as a member, who attends balls, or suffers his children, if they are under parental care, to do so; nor any person who attends races, theatres, or who engages in any sort of gambling, or who travels on the Lord's Day for business or pleasure; and hereafter no one is to be received as a member who makes use of ardent spirits, except as a medicine." In 1885 the local ministers agreed that "every Christian ought to discontinue the Sunday newspaper and debar its entrance wherever he has proper authority." In 1902 Henry Adams attended a hearing in Boston in an effort to secure permission to sell ice cream on Sunday.

But if there were repressions, there were also effusions, even floods, of faith. Reference has already been made to Amherst College and its "times of refreshing from the presence of God," as Humphrey called them. The village had them too. During Nathan Perkins' pastorate at the Second Church no less than six notable revivals took place. North Amherst had its most rewarding one in 1853; the Baptists in 1868.

In 1850, prayer meetings, held in the Amherst Academy building, were, in the words of Parson Colton, "fuller and more solemn. A cloud of mercy seems to hang over us and to drop down fatness." But nothing came of it. There were no conversions. Something was wrong. The church fathers decided that the something was "the rum places in the village, with fires of hell in full blast." They took the matter into town meeting, where Hitchcock made a great speech. And they achieved a magnificent temperance verdict: 400 to 1. And then the fatness did begin to fall, and conversions took place. During the year ninety-five people joined the church, most

of them by confession of faith, and including Edward Dickinson, Esq., in his forty-eighth year. "I have come from church," his daughter wrote to her brother, "very hot and faded. Our church grows interesting. Zion lifts her head. I overhear remarks signifying Jerusalem."

During the rest of the century church attendance was impressive. Colonel Clark used to transport his numerous family in a carryall. In 1890 a First Church woman wrote to a relative: "The whole [Levi] Stockbridge family filed into church, twenty-three of them, headed by the patriarch and his wife." A little later the Rev. Frank Goodspeed would pack the present First Church auditorium on the Lord's day not only once but twice, and sometimes the ushers would bring in chairs. These were high points, of course, but significant. And, as of 1957, the Methodist Church requires two Sunday services, and Saint Brigid's five.

There has never been much inclination toward confederation among the Amherst churches. Recent efforts to bring together the First, Second, and Unity churches failed completely. So too have three efforts to bring together Hope and Zion. There has been, however, both inter- and intra-village cooperation. Indeed almost at the dawn of our churchly history, in 1745, David Parsons was a member of what was known as the Northern Association of Hampshire. Nearly a century later, however, we find the First Church in the act of easing out an unpopular minister, partly on the ground that he had been given to "the practice of associating with neighboring ministers, exchanging with them, and conducting social meetings." But this was merely a passing phase, as indicated by the following statement of purpose, drawn up soon after by the Hampshire East Association: "to examine and license suitable candidates for the gospel ministry, to inquire after religious intelligence, to give advice when requested respecting gospel order, to consider cases of conscience, discuss questions, and criticize sermons, exegeses, skeletons, and dissertations, presented for that purpose." One of its first problems was to determine whether, in Hampshire County, Saturday or Sunday evening should be observed as "holy time."

About 1875 the Protestant clergymen formed the Amherst Min-

isters Association, an organization still, but not very actively, in existence in 1957. This group, in 1915, brought into being a more inclusive society, which, in 1942, became the Amherst Council of Churches. This council has sponsored and supervised various wholesome enterprises, such as vacation Bible schools, weekday religious education, the "Friendly Town" hospitality for underprivileged city children, interchurch athletic competition, and, periodically, an all-community census. A census of 4719 adults in 1957 indicated denominational preferences as follows: Congregational 30.9%, Roman Catholic 29.6%, Episcopalian 9.7%, Methodist 8.1%, Baptist 3%, Unitarian 1.9%, and the rest non-committal or scattered. An offshoot from the Council, in 1948, was the United Church Women of Amherst, an organization officially rated, in 1957, as the second strongest of its kind in Massachusetts. Its ladies carry on the series of Lenten noonday meetings initiated by Helen Knowlton in 1933, and also special services on World Community Day, World Day of Prayer, and May Fellowship Day. Unlike the Roman Catholics, who feel a compelling responsibility to defend the purity of their faith, the Protestants are likely to be rather hazy in regard to sectarian distinctions, and, perhaps for that reason, more inclined to take part in interdenominational activities.

Church history in Amherst has been one of vicissitudes but steadfast purpose, of changing convictions but constant devotion, of varying support but outstanding leadership. During the past two or three decades there have been a large number of young ministers, dedicated and gifted, who have moved on to posts of greater influence and prestige. Of special interest and significance are those who are now engaged in training the ministers of tomorrow: Jesse Trotter and John Coburn of Grace Church, Roy Pearson of the First Church, and perhaps we should include James Cleland of Amherst College, as deans; Chalmers Coe and Robert M. Brown of the first Church and Ben Kimpel of Unity, as professors—all in high-class theological schools.

With two colleges in the village, the congregations, too, are engagingly youthful and alert. These transient worshipers, like their pastors, go forth into all the world, bearing with them the light which they have received from the Amherst lamps of faith.

Village, vale!

SOMEWHERE along the way, somewhere between 1735 and 1958, Amherst ceased to be, properly speaking, a village. Her five o'clock traffic became urban, her handling of public affairs professional, her reputation sophisticated. She began to be not so much a community as a center.

But the endearing village awareness lingers on. Surrounded by her horizon hills she continues to be, in some measure, a place apart. Not only in her hamlets to the north and east and south but even in the sometimes busy heart-o'-town one finds them still—the villagers, with names like Elder and Nash, Thompson and Hawley, Walsh and Brown. There are even Dickinsons too. And in sunny, sleepy August, Amherst reverts, as it were, to the earlier days of this book.

Her future, however, and her function are now predictable. Her native spirit is taking form. It is almost as though certain words of Thoreau had been posted upon a figurative Hartling Stake:

As the nobleman of cultivated taste surrounds himself with whatever conduces to his culture: genius, learning, wit, books, painting, statuary, music, philosophical instruments, and the like; so let the village do. . . . Instead of noblemen, let us have noble villages of men.

Amherst has truly been, for many years, a noble village of men. Her past has been colorful and significant. Her destiny beckons.

Appendix

Public Servants

SELECTMEN

- Ebenezer Dickinson, 1759
John Dickinson, 1759, 61, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72-75
Jonathan Dickinson, 1759, 61, 64, 67, 69
Nathaniel Smith, 1759
Moses Dickinson, 1759, 62, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71-79, 81
Jonathan Edwards, 1760, 64, 66, 68, 70
Josiah Chauncey, 1760, 62, 70
Daniel Kellogg, 1760, 62
Nathaniel Coleman, 1760, 67, 69
Jonathan Moody, 1760
Peter Smith, 1761, 64, 71
John Field, 1761, 66, 68, 71, 87
Alexander Smith, 1762, 66, 68, 71, 80
Simeon Strong, 1762, 69, 71
Joseph Eastman, 1763, 65, 67, 69, 76
Simeon Clark, 1763, 65, 67
John Billings, 1763, 65, 72, 77, 78, 81, 88
Elisha Ingram, 1763
Nathaniel Dickinson, 1764, 72-75
Azariah Dickinson, 1765
Samuel Ingram, 1766
Gideon Dickinson, 1770, 82
Solomon Boltwood, 1770
Reuben Dickinson, 1772-75, 77, 78
Ebenezer Mattoon, 1773-75
Simeon Dickinson, 1776
Simeon Smith, 1776
Joseph Williams, 1776-78
Elijah Baker, 1777, 78, 81, 82
Joseph Dickinson, 1779, 88, 94
Nathaniel Dickinson, (2), 1779
James Merrick, 1779
Josiah Warner, 1779, 88
Ebenezer Mattoon (2), 1779, 89-91, 1817, 18, 30, 31,
Jonathan Dickinson (2), 1780, 82, 84, 85, 87, 93, 95, 96, 99
Martin Kellogg, 1780, 83
Thomas Hastings, 1780, 83, 88
Eli Parker, 1780, 83
Gideon Henderson, 1781
Isaac Hubbard, 1781
Elisha Smith, 1782, 85-87, 89-91, 94-96
Jonathan Smith, 1782
Eleazer Smith, 1783
Joel Billings, 1783
Enos Dickinson, 1784
Ebenezer Boltwood, 1784, 86, 87, 89-93, 95, 97, 98
Joel Moody, 1784
Stephen Smith, 1784
Noah Smith, 1785, 92, 95, 96, 1800, 01
John Nash, 1785
Joseph Church, 1785-87, 89-91
Joseph Eastman (2), 1786, 89-91
Moses Cook, 1786, 92, 93
Timothy Greenfield, 1788
Daniel Kellogg (2), 1792, 93
Elijah Dickinson, 1792, 94, 97, 98, 1802-08, 10, 11, 14-16
Timothy Henderson, 1793, 1802-07
Zebina Montague, 1794-98
Medad Dickinson, 1794, 96-1801, 05-07
Moses Hastings, 1797, 98, 1801, 08-11, 13
John Dickinson (2), 1799, 1800
Samuel Hastings, 1799-1801
Gideon Stetson, 1799, 1800, 02-04
Nathan Franklin, 1802-07, 17
John Kellogg, 1802-07
Ebenezer Ingram, 1808
Calvin Merrill, 1808, 09, 13, 17, 18
Aaron Merrick, 1808-13, 19
Elijah Smith, 1809-11
Chester Williams, 1809-12
Chester Smith, 1812
Martin Baker, 1812-16, 23, 24
David Smith, 1812
Justus Williams, 1813-16, 20
Enos Dickinson (2), 1814-18, 30, 31, 36, 37, 39, 42
John Eastman, 1814-16
Chester Dickinson, 1817, 19-24, 34
Timothy Goodman, 1819
Elijah Boltwood, 1819, 20, 25-32
Enos Baker, 1819
George Nutting, 1820, 26, 27

- Benoni Rust, 1820
 Hosea Goodale, 1821
 Seth Nelson, 1821
 Josiah Warner (2), 1821
 Nathaniel C. Dickinson, 1821, 28, 29, 33
 Asabel Thayer, 1822, 25, 33
 Andrew Hyde, 1822, 23
 Jonathan Bridgman, 1822, 32
 Rufus Cows, 1822
 Ebenezer Williams, 1823, 28, 29, 32, 43
 Zebina Hawley, 1823, 35
 Oliver Dickinson, 1824-27, 38
 Rufus Kellogg, 1824
 Levi Jones, 1824, 25
 Jonathan Cows, 1825-29, 33
 Zebina Dickinson, 1826-29, 32
 David Dexter, 1830, 31
 William Kellogg, 1830, 31
 Solomon K. Eastman, 1832, 33
 Luke Sweetser, 1833
 Jonathan Rice, 1834
 Thomas Hastings (2), 1834, 39
 Lucius Dickinson, 1834, 35
 Aaron M. Chandler, 1834
 Daniel Dickinson, 1835
 Warren S. Howland, 1835
 Eleazer Gaylord, 1835
 Ezra Ingram, 1836-38, 44, 52, 53, 56, 59-69
 Leonard M. Hills, 1836, 37, 50, 51
 Salvador Andrews, 1836, 37
 Alfred Baker, 1836-38, 42, 50, 51, 58
 Nelson Rust, 1838
 Frederick A. Palmer, 1838, 43, 44
 Charles Roberts, 1839
 Simeon Clark (2), 1839, 41, 42, 50, 51
 Charles Adams, 1839
 Cotton Smith, 1840
 Seth Nims, 1840, 41
 Luther Nash, 1840
 Willard M. Kellogg, 1840, 49, 59
 Eleazer Kellogg, 1840, 41, 43, 61-63, 65-69
 William Merrick, 1841
 Oliver Watson, 1841
 Salem Hammond, 1844
 Waitstill Dickinson, 1845-49, 73
 Russell T. Wheelock, 1845, 46, 48, 57, 58
 Lyman Gunn, 1845, 46
 John Dickinson (3), 1847
 Ansel C. Marshall, 1847-51
 Truman Nutting, 1850, 51
 Enos D. Williams, 1852-54
 Albin P. Howe, 1852
 Josiah Ayers, 1853, 55
 Austin Eastman, 1854, 55, 58
 Edward A. Stanley, 1854
 James Hastings, 1855
 William Dickinson, 1855
 Robert Cutler, 1855
 M. A. Allen, 1856
 Daniel Converse, 1856, 59, 60, 62-64
 John R. Cushman, 1856
 Bela U. Dickinson, 1856, 60
 Baxter Eastman, 1857
 David Pomeroy, 1857
 Harlan L. Pomeroy, 1861
 Avery R. Cushman, 1864
 Porter Dickinson, 1865-69
 Flavel Gaylord, 1870-72
 Harrison Ingram, 1870-72, 75, 76, 78
 Levi Stockbridge, 1870, 83-87, 89, 90
 Charles S. Smith, 1871
 George H. Prince, 1872
 Chauncey W. Lessey, 1873-77
 Edmund Hobart, 1873, 74
 Allen P. Merrick, 1875, 76
 Jonathan Cows (2), 1877
 A. J. Robinson, 1877
 James E. Merrick, 1878-80
 Dwight W. Palmer, 1878, 79
 Marquis F. Dickinson, 1879-83, 87
 Oliver D. Hunt, 1880-82, 88
 Ebenezer A. King, 1881-83
 Edward P. Pomeroy, 1884
 Fred L. Stone, 1884-86, 89, 90
 Walter D. Cows, 1884-86
 Parnell Munson, 1887, 88
 Henry W. Haskins, 1888-94
 Salmon Wakefield, 1891, 92
 William W. Hunt, 1891-93
 Daniel W. Dickinson, 1893-1906
 William E. Smith, 1894-1901
 Henry L. Ufford, 1895-1901
 Arthur E. Hobart, 1902-06
 Charles E. Wakefield, 1902-06
 George F. Hobart, 1907-26
 Thomas S. Thurston, 1907-10
 William H. Smith, 1907-11
 John Mullen, 1911-13, 20-22, 31-33
 William H. Atkins, 1912-47
 Cady R. Elder, 1914-19, 25-26
 Edwin H. Dickinson, 1923-27
 Melrose S. Paige, 1927-30
 Gerald D. Jones, 1928-34
 F. Civile Pray, 1934-53
 John R. Lannon, 1934-39
 Albert Parsons, 1939-53
 Fred A. Colby, 1948-53

Eunice L. Mannheim, 1954–
Herbert Johnson, 1954–
Robert D. Hawley, 1954–

Harold M. Elder, 1954–
Norman G. MacLeod, 1954–

TOWN CLERKS

John Nash, 1735–57
Josiah Chauncey, 1758–62, 1767
Simeon Strong, 1763–66
Seth Coleman, 1768–74, 1788–1803
Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr., 1775–87
Samuel F. Dickinson, 1804–18
Elijah Dwight, 1819
Elisha Smith, 1820–22
Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr., 1823–27
Ithamar Conkey, 1828–29
Lucius Boltwood, 1830–34
John S. Adams, 1835
Russell T. Wheelock, 1836

Samuel C. Carter, 1837–45, 1857–79
Newton Fitch, 1846–47
James W. Boyden, 1848–52, 1854
Albin P. Howe, 1853, 1855
John M. Emerson, 1856
Edward D. Bangs, 1880–87
William A. Hunt, 1888–93
Oliver D. Hunt, 1894–95
Charles H. Edwards, 1896–1911
Thomas W. Smith, 1912–30
Mrs. Elizabeth W. Hooker, 1930–50
Mrs. Gertrude L. Fitzgerald, 1950–56
Mrs. Doris B. Newton, 1957–

TREASURERS

Ebenezer Kellogg, 1735
Nathaniel Smith, 1736
John Nash, 1737–39
John Cows, 1740–41
Ebenezer Dickinson, 1742–56
Jonathan Dickinson, 1757
Joseph Eastman, 1758–63
Simeon Strong, 1764–74
Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr., 1775–84

Seth Coleman, 1785–1802
Samuel F. Dickinson, 1803–18
Elijah Dwight, 1819
Ransom Dickinson, 1820–23
Jay White, 1824–25
Isaac G. Cutter, 1826–27

From 1828 the offices of clerk and treasurer were combined.

MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL COURT
OF MASSACHUSETTS

Dickinson, Nathaniel, Jr., 1774–75, 78, 80, 83
Dickinson, Moses, 1775, 77
Billings, John, 1776–77
Mattoon, Ebenezer, 1776, 79, 81, 94, 1812
Eastman, Joseph, 1778
Parker, Eli, 1785
Cooley, Daniel, 1787–88
Strong, Simeon, 1790–91, 1809, 12–14
Cook, Moses, 1792–93
Montague, Zebina, 1796–1804, 08
Dickinson, Samuel F., 1805–09, 13, 16–18, 27–29
Dickinson, Medad, 1810–11
Smith, Elisha, 1810
Strong, Sen. Solomon, 1812–13, 43–44

Webster, Noah, 1814–15, 19
Gridley, Timothy J., 1820, 26, 44, 46
Franklin, Nathan, 1821
Merrick, Aaron, 1822
Robbins, Isaac, 1823–24
Dickinson, Chester, 1827
Dickinson, Enos, 1828, 37
Boltwood, Elijah, 1829, 34–35
Dickinson, Daniel, 1829, 33
Cutter, Isaac G., 1830
Dickinson, Zebina, 1830–31, 34
Leland, John, 1831–32, 47
Dickinson, Oliver, 1832, 39
Baker, Osmyn, 1833–34, 36–37
Nutting, George, 1833, 36
Roberts, Reuben, 1835
Williams, Ebenezer, 1835

Baker, Martin, 1836	Stockbridge, Levi, 1870, 83
Mattoon, Ebenezer, Jr., 1837, 40	Cushman, Avery R., 1871
Dickinson, Sen. Edward, 1838-39, 42-43, 74	Burt, Henry, 1873
Kellogg, Eleazar, 1838	Lessey, Chauncey W., 1877
Adams, Charles, 1840	Crowell, Edward P., 1879
Carter, Samuel C., 1841-42	Parmenter, Charles O., 1880-81
Ingram, Ezra, 1843	Goodell, Henry H., 1885
Jones, Thomas, 1845	Harrington, Moody, 1887
Baker, Alfred, 1848	Paige, Frank E., 1889
Sweetser, Luke, 1849	Smith, Charles S., 1891
Dickinson, Waitstill, 1850	Wakefield, Charles E., 1893, 95
Fowler, William C., 1851	Fisher, George E., 1897, 99
Watson, Oliver, 1852	Paige, James B., 1903-04
Greene, Moses B., 1853	Gallond, Sen. George J., 1907-08
Conkey, Ithamar F., 1854	Hosmer, Frank A., 1908-09
Smith, Benjamin F., 1855	Cowls, Walter D., 1913-15
Eastman, Baxter, 1856	Churchill, Sen. George B., 1917-19
Williams, Enos D., 1857	Keedy, David H., 1919
Warner, George, 1858	Paige, Henry E., 1920-21, 23-24
Boyden, Sen. James W., 1858	Allen, Albion B., 1922
Ayres, Josiah, 1860	Elder, Sen. Cady R., 1929-30
Cushman, John R., 1862	Jones, Gerald D., 1935-36
Clark, William S., 1864-65, 67	Bergeron, Albert, 1937-40
Ward, Horace, 1868	Aplington, Horace T., 1945-48
	Lumley, Albert E., 1954

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Mattoon, Ebenezer, Jr., 1800-03
 Strong, Solomon, 1815-19
 Wright, Sen. Silas, Jr., (New York) 1833-44
 Lee, Gideon, 1834-37
 Baker, Osmyn, 1840-45
 Dickinson, Edward, 1853-55
 Delano, Charles, 1859-63
 Seelye, Julius, 1875-77
 Churchill, George B., 1925
 Symington, Sen. W. Stuart, (Missouri) 1952-
 Douglas, Sen. Paul H., (Illinois) 1949-

SUPERINTENDENTS
OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Rev. Charles L. Woodworth, 1865	William D. Parkinson, 1893-98
Hanson L. Read, 1868-70; 1885-86	Audubon L. Hardy, 1898-1915
Rev. Franklin P. Chapin, 1871-73	Carroll R. Reed, 1915-17
Rev. William D. Herrick, 1873-74	John D. Brooks, 1917-19
Edward A. Thomas, 1875	Jason O. Cook, 1920-35
Rev. Warren H. Beaman, 1876-85	Dr. L. Leland Dudley, 1935-50
Rev. J. B. Child, 1887-90	Carroll F. Johnson, 1950-53
Rev. J. Harry Holden, 1891-92	Ralph W. Goodrich, 1953-

PRINCIPALS
OF THE HIGH SCHOOL (SENIOR)

Samuel J. Storrs, 1861-62
 Charles A. Adams, 1862
 Edward S. Frisbee, 1863-66
 Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, 1867-69
 William J. Holland, 1869
 A. H. Buck, 1869
 Harvey Porter, 1870
 John K. Richardson, 1871-72
 Vincent Moses, 1872
 H. B. Richardson, 1872-73
 Arnold N. Heap, 1873-74
 C. H. K. Sanderson, 1875-76
 G. L. Smith, 1877
 Edward M. Marsh, 1878
 Charles L. Goodrich, 1879-81

W. H. Whiting, 1881-84
 William I. Cole, 1885
 Sidney A. Sherman, 1886-90
 Hobart K. Whitaker, 1890-94
 Edward R. Evans, 1895
 Charles A. Williams, 1896-97
 Charles Falconer, 1897-1900
 Charles W. Marshall, 1900-16
 Frank T. Wingate, 1816-18
 C. L. Smith, 1918-19
 Jason O. Cook, 1919-20
 William H. Brown, 1920-30
 Ralph W. Haskins, 1930-42
 Kingsley A. Perry, 1942-

Pastorates

The names that follow are somewhat selective, those of short-term visiting or *ad interim* ministers being generally omitted. Thus the lists of Unity, Hope, and Zion churches include only the more significant pastorates. Readers interested in the Methodist churches in Cushman (1842-95) and South Amherst (1847-75) are referred to *Carpenter & Morehouse*, pp. 242-244.

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

David Parsons, Jr., 1739-81
 David Parsons, 3rd, 1782-1819
 Daniel A. Clark, 1820-24
 Royal Washburn, 1826-33
 Matthew T. Adam, 1833-34
 Josiah Bent, 1837-39
 Aaron M. Colton, 1840-53
 Edward S. Dwight, 1853-60
 Henry L. Hubbell, 1861-65
 Jonathan L. Jenkins, 1867-77
 Howard Kingsbury, 1877-78
 Forrest F. Emerson, 1879-83

George S. Dickerman, 1883-91
 Frank L. Goodspeed, 1892-94
 Oliver Huckel, 1895-97
 Henry R. McCartney, 1898-1901
 William E. Strong, 1901-06
 Wilbert L. Anderson, 1907-13
 John A. Hawley, 1914-37
 Raymond A. Waser, 1937-39
 Roy M. Pearson, 1940-47
 Chalmers Coe, 1948-54
 Thayer A. Greene, 1954-

SECOND CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

Ichabod Draper, 1786-1809
 Nathan Perkins, Jr., 1810-42
 Pomeroy Belden, 1842-49

Charles L. Woodworth, 1849-63, 1893-98
 Jay Clizbee, 1865-67

Franklin P. Chapin, 1868-71
 Charles A. Conant, 1872-76
 Chester W. Hawley, 1876-79, 1898-1902
 George E. Fisher, 1879-85
 Francis J. Fairbanks, 1886-93
 William A. Estabrook, 1902-07

Harold C. Feast, 1908-11
 George A. Tuttle, 1911-20
 Clair F. Luther, 1921-37
 Eben T. Chapman, 1937-44
 Charles D. Paul, 1944-52
 Thomas Leamon, 1952-56
 Ralph M. Cook, 1956-

SOUTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

Horace B. Chapin, 1825-29
 Aaron Gates, 1831-36
 Gideon Dana, 1837-40
 Dana Goodsell, 1841-46
 James L. Merrick, 1849-63
 Walter Barton, 1864-66
 George Lyman, 1869-73
 Charles S. Walker, 1876-78, 1881-86

H. W. Boyd, 1888-94
 James F. Gleason, 1895-1917
 W. H. Thurston, 1918-21
 Archibald Kerr, 1922-26
 Eben F. Francis, 1926-38
 Leland O. Hunt, 1938-41
 Louis C. Toppan, 1942-49
 Arnold Kenseth, 1949-

NORTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

William W. Hunt, 1827-37
 George Cooke, 1839-52
 George E. Fisher, 1852-58
 John W. Underhill, 1859-62
 Daniel S. Rogan, 1865-66
 William D. Herrick, 1867-74
 George F. Humphreys, 1875
 George H. Johnson, 1879-88
 Eben W. Gaylord, 1890-1902

A. P. Manwell, 1902-07
 Byron F. Gustin, 1908-22
 Frank C. Seymour, 1922-35
 Theodore T. Dixon, 1935-45
 H. Robinson Shipherd, 1945-48
 Howard F. Boardman, 1949-54
 Grover C. Rieger, 1954-57
 William G. Lorimer, 1957-

CHURCH OF CHRIST OF AMHERST COLLEGE (CONGREGATIONAL)

Heman Humphrey, 1827-45
 Edward Hitchcock, 1845-54
 William A. Stearns, 1854-76
 Julius H. Seelye, 1877-90

John E. Tuttle, 1893-96
 Henry Preserved Smith (associate)
 1896-1906

BAPTIST CHURCH

Mason Ball, 1833-36, 1846-49
 Nehemiah G. Lovell, 1836-40
 Joseph Hodges, 1840-41
 Stephen S. Nelson, 1841-42
 Peter Chase, 1842
 George Waters, 1842-46
 Elkanah A. Cummings, 1851-52, 1853-55
 Edward Anderson, 1842-53
 George S. Stockwell, 1855

Josiah T. Smith, 1856-65
 A. Judson Padelford, 1866-68
 Francis E. Tower, 1868-72
 A. P. Buel, 1872-73
 Sylvester G. Burnham, 1873-74
 Daniel W. Hoyt, 1874-80
 George E. Genung, 1880-84
 Jonathan B. Child, 1884-92
 George W. Holman, 1892-97
 Frederick M. White, 1897-1901

Edward B. Shaw, 1902-03
 James W. Leonard, 1905-09
 James M. Lent, 1909-12
 S. Paul Jefferson, 1912-20
 Asa S. Dilts, 1921-31
 Henry D. Coe, 1931-38

John C. Searcy, 1938-41
 Millar A. Thornton, 1942-44
 Robert E. Davis, 1945-49
 Lowell Kantzer, 1949-53
 Ewald Mand, 1954-

GRACE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

S. P. Parker, 1865-69
 Andrew Mackie, 1869-71
 Henry F. Allen, 1872-77
 Frederick Burgess, 1878-82
 Samuel Snelling, 1883-87
 W. J. Tilley, 1888-92
 David Sprague, 1893-1907
 Donald McFayden, 1908-12

Ellis Bishop, 1912-15
 Hervey C. Parke, 1915-23
 Arthur Lee Kinsolving, 1924-30
 Charles H. Cadigan, 1930-38
 Jesse Trotter, 1939-46
 John Coburn, 1946-53
 Richard S. Knight, 1954-

SAINT BRIGID'S CHURCH

Francis Brennan, 1872-78
 J. B. Drennan, 1887-91
 John H. Gavin, 1891-1911
 John J. Bell, 1911-19
 J. J. O'Malley, 1919-28

A. E. Sheedy, 1928-31
 P. J. Madden, 1931-34
 A. A. Martin, 1934-39
 P. T. Coyle, 1939-42
 J. Alfred Lane, 1942-

WESLEY METHODIST CHURCH

S. L. Rodgers, 1875-76
 D. S. Coles, 1876-77
 E. C. Ferguson, 1877-78
 E. P. King, 1878-81
 W. G. Richardson, 1881-84
 W. H. Daniels, 1884-85
 J. H. Emerson, 1885-87
 C. R. Sherman, 1887-90
 S. A. Bragg, 1890-94
 A. L. Squier, 1894-95
 A. C. Skinner, 1895-98
 J. R. Chaffee, 1898-1900
 A. B. Gifford, 1900-03
 Ora S. Gray, 1903-04
 T. C. Martin, 1904-05
 W. M. Crawford, 1905-08

L. L. Beaman, 1908-10
 John Ivey, 1910-12
 G. M. Smiley, 1912-13
 C. M. Panunzio, 1913-15
 Thomas J. Gambill, 1915-16
 Elmer E. Newell, 1916-18
 Thomas T. Johnson, 1918-21
 F. A. Leitch, 1921-26
 W. Q. Genge, 1926-28
 Douglas Guest, 1928-32
 Stead Thornton, 1932-36
 Arthur Hopkinson, Jr., 1936-41
 Harold H. Cramer, 1941-46
 Edgar B. Wilson, 1946-47
 James H. Laird, 1947-54
 Raymond N. Fedje, 1954-

UNITY CHURCH

(UNIVERSALIST, LATER UNITARIAN)

Harry Holden, 1888-95
 Arthur H. Coar, 1907-16
 Henry G. Ives, 1919-29

Barton Akley, 1930-37
 Ben Kimpel, 1937-40
 Sidney Robins, 1945-52

ZION CHURCH
(METHODIST EPISCOPAL)

E. C. Brown, 1903-05
E. T. Barrow, 1905-08
John D. Nichols, 1908-10
Clarence A. Gooding, 1914-17

George Biddle, 1923-25
Luther C. Jones, 1933-38
Nicholas Franklyn, 1946-47, 1953-

HOPE CHURCH
(CONGREGATIONAL)

Maurice N. Greene, 1906-12, 1919-21
Reading B. Johns, 1913-16
W. E. Ricks, 1916-18
George Biddle, 1923-25

Roland T. Heacock, 1928-31
Clarence A. Gooding, 1932-36
John A. Hawley, 1943-57

Some Amherst Clubs

(but not those dedicated to church, college, or cards, or with less than a decade of activity as of 1958)

Pacific Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, 1801-
Grand Army of the Republic, 1867-1935
Independent Order of Odd Fellows, 1851-58, 1904-
Village Improvement Association (Ornamental Tree Association, 1857-77), 1877-1917
Grange, 1873-
Reform Club, 1876-1894
Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1876-
Indian Association, 1881-1906 [?], 1914-16 [?]
Tuesday Club, 1883-
Gun Club (Rod and Gun Club, 1884-1909), 1909-41
E. M. Stanton's Woman's Relief Corps., 1889-
Amherst Club, 1891-1955
Woman's Club, 1893-
Daughters of the American Revolution, 1894-
Travellers Club, 1896-
Ancient Order of Hibernians, 1898-1928 [?]
Orient Club, 1899-
Eastern Star, 1899-
Historical Society, 1899-
Improved Order of Red Men, 1900-
Golf Club (Country Club, 1900-05), 1912-
Thursday Club, 1901-
Orient Lodge of Rebekahs, 1905-
Sons of Veterans, 1907-50
Sons of Veterans Auxiliary, 1907-
Ancient Order of Hibernians Auxiliary, 1907-52

Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters, 1908-56
 4-H Clubs, 1908-
 Chamber of Commerce (Business Men's Association, etc., 1909-50), 1950-
 North Amherst Current Events Club, 1909-44
 Science Club, 1910 [?]-1950
 Boy Scouts, (a Boys Club, 1910-16), 1916-
 Knights of Columbus, 1912-
 Poultry Association, 1914-25
 Garden Club, 1915-
 Norwottuck Fish and Game Association, 1917-
 Girl Scouts, 1918-
 Daughters of Isabella, 1919-
 Parent-Teachers Association, 1919-
 Boys Club, 1919-
 North Amherst Choral Society, 1919-30
 American Legion, 1919-
 American Legion Auxiliary, 1920-
 Veterans of Foreign Wars, 1921-
 Schubencadie, 1921-
 Nature Club, 1923-
 Madrigal Club, 1923-
 Needlework Guild, 1926-
 Rotary, 1926-
 Amherst-Northampton Speakers Club, 1927-
 Stamp Club (Northampton, Northampton-Amherst Club, 1928-50), 1950-
 Camera Club, 1935-
 Lions, 1936-
 League of Women Voters, 1940-
 Girls Club, 1946-

College Presidents

AMHERST

Zephaniah S. Moore, 1821-1823	George Harris, 1899-1911
Heman Humphrey, 1823-1845	Alexander Meiklejohn, 1912-1923
Edward Hitchcock, 1845-1854	George D. Olds, 1924-1927
William A. Stearns, 1854-1876	Arthur Stanley Pease, 1927-1932
Julius H. Seelye, 1877-1890	Stanley King, 1932-1946
Merrill E. Gates, 1891-1898	Charles W. Cole, 1946-

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Henry Flagg French, 1864-1866	Henry H. Goodell, 1886-1905
Paul A. Chadbourne, 1866-1867	Kenyon L. Butterfield, 1906-1923
William S. Clark, 1867-1879	Edward M. Lewis, 1923-1926
Charles L. Flint, 1879-1880	Roscoe W. Thatcher, 1927-1932
Levi Stockbridge, 1880-1882	Hugh Potter Baker, 1932-1947
Paul A. Chadbourne, 1882-1883	Ralph A. Van Meter, 1948-1954
James C. Greenough, 1883-1886	Jean Paul Mather, 1954-

Acknowledgment

For the benefit of skeptical critics and future historians, sources of textual information are listed below. Your annalist has been deeply impressed by the inclusiveness and accuracy of the Carpenter & Morehouse *History of the Town of Amherst, Massachusetts*, and has confidently and gratefully relied upon it for much material prior to 1896. That sources of certain more recent material are not included may be due to the fact that he himself has lived in Amherst for forty-five years, and in some measure has relied upon his own and his wife's memories. Of course neither they, nor, for that matter, his other sources, are infallible. There is sobering significance in the fact that in the narrative pages there appear nearly twenty-eight hundred numerical dates, each one a possible error. There are also a few bits of hearsay, but always so indicated, and sufficiently in character to be useful.

Well over eighty people have rendered reassuring assistance by reading chapter manuscripts in substantially their present form; and many more, as members of groups, have had chapters read to them for correction and comment. The names of these readers and of some of the groups are listed below. The entire text has been carefully read by A. Hazard Dakin, Paul C. French, Reginald F. French, Charles Hiram Thayer, and, three times, by Mrs. Rand; to these there will be no explicit reference by chapters. Sources which recur subsequent to their initial entry are freely abbreviated.

It is obvious that this book is something other than a compilation, and for its interpretive emphasis the annalist must assume entire responsibility.

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 Readers: Harold W. Cary, Amherst D.A.R., C. R. Green, Sidney Kaplan, E. C. Rozwenc

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C & M: 103-108, 112-117, 140
 Hawley & Rand: 5
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Record: 7/25/1906
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 Readers: C. R. Green, E. C. Rozwenc

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Republican: 3/14/1943
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Town Meetings: 26, 80
 Readers: Earl M. Barnum, Warren R. Brown, Mrs. G. Brinton Burnett, Charles H. Haskins, Fred H. Hawley, Charles A. Peters, Francis Pray, Mrs. Susan H. Skillings, Mrs. Irving B. Van Wert
 Informants: Mrs. Ralph L. France, Albert Parsons, Floyd A. Thompson

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World Almanac, 1956: 535

Readers: Alfred A. Brown, W. R. Brown, William L. Doran, Melrose S. Paige,
F. Civile Pray
Informants: Raymond C. Brittin, Thomas C. Esty, Robert S. Hopkins, Jr.

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12/6/82, 1/21/85, 9/30/85, 1/22/96, 1/29/96, 5/20/96, 10/14/96,
11/18/96, 12/16/96, 1/20/97, 7/28/97, 1/26/98, 4/6/98, 12/25/1912,
5/26/26, 12/29/26, 1/5/27, 12/14/32
Union: 12/24/1905
Reader: C. R. Green
Informants: Milo LaFogg, Hobart H. Luddon, Mrs. Harry J. Miner

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2/19/41, 8/27/41, 1/29/48
Town Reports: 1927-1929, 1935, 1936, 1941, 1956
Readers: F. H. Hawley, Mrs. Elizabeth W. Hooker, M. S. Paige, Civile Pray
Informants: Gerald D. Jones, Mrs. Edith Hall Marsh

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Republican: 4/?/1882

Who's Who in America, 1956: Warne

Readers: Kate Beston, W. R. Brown, Harold M. Elder, Edmund W. Elwell, C. R. Green, F. A. Thompson

Informants: Mrs. Gerald D. Jones, Richard S. Allen

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Union: 1/5/1918

Readers: Mrs. William H. Atkins, W. R. Brown, Edwin F. Gaskill, Marshall O. Lanphear, S. R. Parker, Schubencadie Club, Dale H. Sieling, Clark L. Thayer, R. A. Van Meter, John M. Zak

Informants: Bradford D. Crossman, Mrs. W. S. Dakin, C. H. Haskins, Arthur D. Holmes, Fred P. Jeffrey, Mrs. Van Wert

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- Gazette*: 11/25/1840, 3/31/41
- Record*: 1/29/1902, 2/27/35, 6/19/47
- Readers: H. W. Cary, Charles W. Cole, D.A.R., C. R. Green, S. Kaplan, E. C. Rozwenc
- Informant: Margaret R. P. Hamlin

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- Readers: Bruce G. Brown, Winthrop S. Dakin, C. R. Green, E. W. Hooker, Civille Pray

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- Readers: C. R. Green, Clarence H. Matterson

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 Readers: Paul W. Eckley, Harold M. Gore, Curry S. Hicks, Sidney W. Kauffman,
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 Readers: George A. Marston, C. H. Matterson, Civile Pray, R. A. Van Meter
 Informant: J. Alfred Guest

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 Readers: W. S. Dakin, C. R. Green, Robert D. Hawley, E. W. Hooker, S. Kaplan, A. Parsons, Civille Pray

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Town Reports: 1909, 1915, 1924, 1926, 1950
 Readers: Lyle L. Blundell, Mrs. France, C. R. Green, Mrs. F. Civille Pray, Robert W. Smart, Clark L. Thayer
 Informants: Bailey L. Brown, F. A. Thompson, Reuben E. Trippensee

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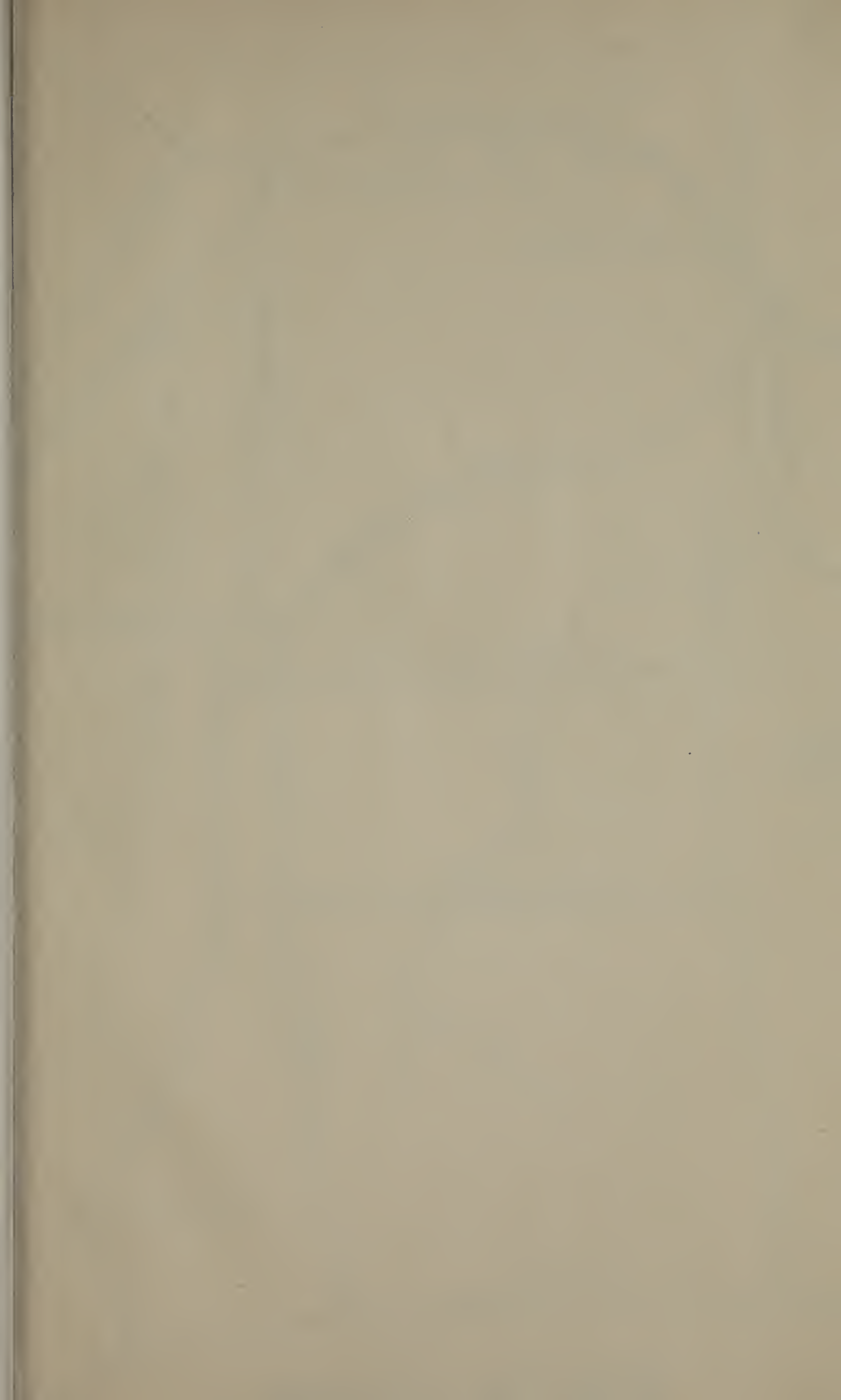
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